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Southwestern historical quarterly

THE QUARTERLY

OF THE

TEXAS STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

VOLUME VI.

JULY, 1902, TO APRIL, 1903.

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JOHN H. REAGAN,

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CONTENTS.

NUMBER 1; JULY, 1902.

LOUIS JUCHEREAU DE SAINT-DENIS AND THE RE- ESTABLISHMENT OF THE TEJAS MISSIONS.....	Robert Carlton Clark.....	1
EDUCATIONAL EFFORTS IN SAN FERNANDO DE BEJAR.....	I. J. Cox.....	27
BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.....		64
NOTES AND FRAGMENTS.....		67
QUERIES AND ANSWERS.....		73
AFFAIRS OF THE ASSOCIATION.....		74

NUMBER 2; OCTOBER, 1902.

THE SOUTHWEST BOUNDARY OF TEXAS.....	I. J. Cox.....	81
SOME MATERIALS FOR SOUTHWESTERN HISTORY IN THE ARCHIVO GENERAL DE MEXICO.....	Herbert Eugene Bolton.....	103
REMINISCENCES OF C. C. COX, I.....		113
AN ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF SAN JACINTO....	James Washington Winters.....	139
THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE IN TEXAS.....	Eugene C. Barker.....	145
BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.....		159
NOTES AND FRAGMENTS.....		161
QUERIES AND ANSWERS.....		166
AFFAIRS OF THE ASSOCIATION.....		168

NUMBER 3; JANUARY, 1903.

THE TAMPICO EXPEDITION.....	Eugene C. Barker.....	169
TIENDA DE CUERVO'S INSPECTION OF LAREDO, 1757.....	Herbert Eugene Bolton.....	187
REMINISCENCES OF C. C. COX, II.....		204
REMINISCENCES OF EARLY TEXANS, I.....	J. H. Kuykendall.....	236
BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.....		254
NOTES AND FRAGMENTS.....		258
AFFAIRS OF THE ASSOCIATION.....		263

NUMBER 4; APRIL, 1903.

THE DISTURBANCES AT ANAHUAC IN 1832.....	Edna Rowe.....	265
THE ALAMO MONUMENT.....	C. W. Raines.....	300
REMINISCENCES OF EARLY TEXANS, II.....	J. H. Kuykendall.....	311
BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.....		331
NOTES AND FRAGMENTS.....		333
QUERIES AND ANSWERS.....		334
AFFAIRS OF THE ASSOCIATION.....		337

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LOUIS JUCHEREAU DE SAINT-DENIS AND THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE TEJAS MISSIONS.¹

BY ROBERT CARLTON CLARK.²

In a former monograph the writer endeavored to trace, in some detail, the beginnings of Texas history, from the organization of La Salle's unfortunate expedition to the abandonment of the Tejas missions, San Francisco and Santa Maria. Therein it appeared that the first impulse of the Spaniards toward a definite possession of the lands lying between the Rio Grande and the Sabine river was occasioned by the fear of a French preoccupation. A report, vague and exaggerated, of La Salle's expedition and the subse-

¹This article is a continuation of a paper which appeared in the January QUARTERLY, entitled *The Beginnings of Texas*. It resumes the narrative of Texas history at the point where it was there left, the abandonment of the first Tejas missions, and carries it on to include the year 1716. In preparing it the writer has drawn on both French and Spanish sources. The French authorities to which reference is made are as follows:

1. Pénicaut, *Relation ou Annales*, etc. (1698-1722), in Vol. V, pp. 375 et seq., of Pierre Margry's *Découvertes et établissements des Français dans l'Amérique Septentrionale*. A condensation in English will be found

²Mr. Clark held a graduate scholarship in history in the University of Wisconsin during the year 1901-1902. He has just been appointed fellow in American history at the same university for the year 1902-1903.—EDITOR QUARTERLY.

quent establishment of his colony upon the La Vaca came to the ears of the viceroy and aroused him to jealous activity in behalf of Spain. Two missions were established far in the interior of Texas, as a formal announcement of Spanish ownership and a possible barrier to further encroachments of the French. But they were doomed to be short-lived. The missionary impulse of the vice-regal government was casual, and passed quickly when the fear of French occupation proved groundless. The missions were remote and feeble; the garrisons left to protect them were insufficient, and the soldiers increased the perils of their precarious existence by improper conduct toward the Indians. The savages became threatening, and even openly hostile; the appeals of the friars to Mexico for relief passed unheeded; and at last, October 25, 1693, Father Manzanet and the few priests and soldiers who were left, after burying the swivel guns, the bells, and other iron implements, abandoned the missions, and set out to return to Mexico.¹ On the return journey, however, four of the soldiers deserted and turned back to live with the Indians. One of these was Captain Urrutia, who remained among the savages seven years, and brought himself

in *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, second series; the translator has, however, inserted dates and names, and his version should be used with care. My references are to Margry.

2. Le Page du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, in three volumes, published 1758, Paris; English translation, two volumes, published in London, 1763. The translator frankly admits that he has omitted what he considers unimportant; he has, and his selection of matter to omit is not always wise. My references are to the French edition.

3. *Journal Historique de l'établissement des Français à la Louisiane*, published 1831, New Orleans, La.; English translation in *Hist. Col. La.*, part III. My references are to the New Orleans edition. The translation is unreliable.

4. Shea, English translation of Charlevoix's *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*.

In addition to these authorities there are many important documents published by Margry, which will be cited with full title in references. The Spanish sources which I have used are in the form of manuscript letters, dairies, reports, etc., and are found in a collection of documents in two volumes, entitled *Documentos para la Historia Eclesiástica y Civil de la Provincia de Texas, Libro I*, which is identical with *Memorias de Nueva España, Tomo XXVII*. This collection will be cited as Texas MSS., and the title of the particular document will be given with each reference.

¹*Dictamen Fiscal de Espinosa*, Texas MSS., 188.

so much into their favor that thirteen years after his departure they had not forgotten him, and upon occasion clamored for his return. Fray Hidalgo, one of the missionary friars, also returned later to live among the Asinais, where he continued his missionary work for several years, contemporary with Captain Urrutia's stay.¹ He so endeared himself to the Indians that in 1714, when Saint-Denis appeared among them, they expressed a strong desire to have the good father return and resume his missionary work.

Upon the abandonment of the missions San Francisco and Santísima Nombre de María, Texas reverted to the undisputed possession of the savage tribes. For more than twenty years its history is almost a blank. The Spaniards of Mexico forgot it in the press of more urgent matters. The fact that an interval of twenty-two years occurs in the dates of the official documents relating to Texas is significant, as showing how little during that time (1693-1714) these northern lands were in the thoughts and plans of the governors of Mexico. The fear of a French intrusion into Spanish territory, which in the years 1689, 1690, and 1691 had been strong enough to induce the viceroy to send a company of priests and soldiers exploring far into the interior of Texas, grew less and less as the years passed, and no further attempt was made by the French to claim or possess the territory between the Red River and the Rio Grande. The rulers of New Spain, satisfied with a potential ownership, fell into a state of indifference toward the northeastern lands. Out of this apathy they were brought at length by another positive menace to Spanish authority,—nothing less, in fact, than the disturbing apparition of a Frenchman, M. Louis Juchereau de Saint-Denis, at the very gates of Mexico. It is the purpose of this paper to relate in part the experiences of this adventurous French captain;² to indicate the course of events by which

¹*Carta del Marquez de Aguayo, Texas MSS., 197; Declaracion de San Denis y Medar, ibid., p. 123 vuelta.* This *Declaracion* will be found in French in Margry, VI, 214 *et seq.* A comparison of the French and Spanish copies reveals no essential differences in the two. The Spanish version purports to be a translation from the French as given by Saint-Denis and Jalot.

²"Louis Juchereau de Saint-Denis was a son of Nicholas Juchereau, sieur de Saint-Denis, who was ennobled for gallantry and wounds received at the defense of Quebec, in 1690. He was born at Quebec, September 18, 1676." Abbé Tanguay, *Dictionnaire Généalogique*, 328.

the French, moving westward from Louisiana, came into active rivalry with Spain; and to set forth how French enterprise and aggression, reaching out across the vast wilderness of Texas, and knocking at the barred doors of Mexico, aroused the Spaniards from their lethargy, and set in motion their friars and soldiers to re-establish the missions among the Tejas Indians, and to make a permanent occupation of the lands east of the Rio Grande.

Although the Franciscan fathers made no further attempt for twenty years to bear the message of peace to the Tejas tribes, they were not idle; and among the Indians of Mexico the work of conversion went on apace. During the years from 1690 to 1700 the Jaliscan and Querétaro friars gradually pushed their missions northward with the advancing frontier. In the year 1698 two friars of Querétaro, Francisco Hidalgo (the same Hidalgo who had been with Manzanet among the Asinais) and Diego de Salazar founded the mission of Dolores at La Punta (Lampazos) near the Rio Sabinas; and the next year Salazar crossed the river and established the mission of San Juan Bautista, of which Hidalgo soon took charge. San Juan had shortly to be abandoned on account of troubles with the Indians; but in January, 1700, President Salazar, with the assistance of Hidalgo and two other friars, Antonio Olivares and Marcos Guereña, rebuilt the mission upon a site farther north and near the Rio Grande. It was soon provided with a garrison, and formed the extreme outpost of Spanish civilization in this direction. Here for a time the advancing missionary wave was checked. The friars turned their eyes longingly northward across the wide plains of Texas, peopled with capable and friendly savages; but they could make no forward move without the assistance of the soldiers, and to all their urgent appeals and petitions the government of Mexico turned a deaf ear. Father Olivares ventured across the river, and proceeded as far as the Rio Frio, but accomplished nothing, save to stimulate his own missionary zeal. From here also Fray Hidalgo set out alone for the country of the Asinais, where he lived and labored for several years.¹ Upon his return to Mexico he found the friars still waiting at the Rio Grande; the government still dilatory and indifferent; and no prospect in sight of an early advance of the missionary forces into

¹*Declaracion de San Denis, Texas MSS., 123, vuelta.*

the region north of the river. Impatient at the long delay, and burning with enthusiasm for the conversion of the Indians among whom he had lived so long, Hidalgo seems to have given up the hope of securing aid from his own government, and to have turned elsewhere to find the means of establishing missions among the tribes of the Tejas. With that mingling of craft with zeal which was not uncommon among the early missionary fathers, he turned in his extremity to the French of Louisiana.

If the Spaniards were slow in turning to account the discoveries of Leon and Teran, the French were hardly less tardy in the following up the work of La Salle. For fourteen years their title to the vast region known as Louisiana rested in abeyance. Petitions were addressed at different times to the ministers setting forth the advantages of a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi, but not until the year 1698 was the government ready to act. In that year M. Lemoyne d'Iberville set out in command of an expedition for the New World, and arrived in the early part of 1699 on the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, where he established Fort Biloxi. The growth of the colony at first was slow. The land surrounding it was poorly adapted for agriculture, hence the colonists had to depend for sustenance upon trade with the Indians. It was the policy of the French, therefore, to keep upon friendly terms with the savages, and to draw their trade as much as possible toward the Mississippi. To this end exploring parties were sent up the river and its tributaries to form treaties of friendship with the neighboring tribes. One of these companies, led by M. Bienville and Louis de Saint-Denis and consisting of twenty-two Canadians and seven Indians, set out in March, 1700, to explore the Red River country. They ascended the river to a village of Indians called Yactaches. There they learned that they were only two days journey from the land of the Caddos; and some Indians of the latter tribe, who happened to be at the village of the Yactaches, told the Frenchmen of a Spanish settlement five days' journey to the west, where, they said, were men, women, and children. Bienville and Saint-Denis did not, however, go in search of the reported settlement, but set out, May 18, to return to Mobile.¹ Later in the same month Saint-Denis was again directed to proceed westward with twenty-five

¹*Journal de Bienville, Margry, IV 432.*

men, and to keep watch on the Spaniards.¹ He ascended the river seventy leagues from its mouth to the country of the Nachitoches Indians, and thence a hundred leagues farther to the village of the Caddos. These Indians informed Saint-Denis that they had seen no Spaniards for more than two years.² In 1703 another company of Canadians, twenty in number, set out to discover New Mexico, and to see the fabled mines of that region; but of the success of the expedition we have no record.³ It is probable also that about the year 1705 Saint-Denis led another party up Red River to the Nachitoches, and thence to the Asinais, and across Texas to the Rio Grande.⁴

Of all this activity of the French, their incursions into Spanish territory, and the rapid westward extension of French influence, the Spaniards of Mexico remained ignorant. The governor of Pensacola, who was better situated for observing the rival colony, appeared at Biloxi, May, 1700, and made formal protest against the French occupation of the Gulf shore, declaring that Louisiana was a part of Mexico, and that Florida and Mexico should not be separated by the intrusion of a foreign and hostile people.⁵ He also from time to time sent warning to the viceroy of Mexico. But no attempt was made to eject the intruders, and they persevered in their task of exploring the rivers and the valleys of Louisiana, and of fixing themselves more firmly in the friendship of the Indian tribes.

In September, 1712, the sieur Antoine Crozat received a grant of a monopoly of the trade of Louisiana for a period of fifteen years. The document securing to Crozat this exclusive right of trade for the first time attempted to define the limits of Louisiana. The field of his operations, as set forth in the royal grant, was to

¹*Journal Historique*, 34.

²Margry, V 421.

³*Letter of Iberville*, Margry, VI 180.

⁴In the *Declaración*, Texas MSS., 125, Saint-Denis states, under date of June 22, 1715, that it had been ten years since he traveled over the route from Mobile to the Rio Grande. There is no statement of the purpose of such an expedition.

⁵*Journal Historique*, 18, and *Lettre d'Andrez de Riola, gouverneur de Pensacola*, Margry, IV 487, 539.

be the country watered by the Mississippi and its tributaries, and included between the English of Carolina on the east and New Mexico on the west.¹ But Crozat did not concern himself about territorial claims or boundary lines. He had interested himself in the affairs of the Western World for very practical reasons: unhampered by competition, he hoped to reap large profits from the trade of the Indians and from the mines which were still generally believed to exist everywhere in the New World. His factors were instructed to be diligent in their efforts to draw the trade of the Indians to the Mississippi, and to search constantly for promising mineral deposits. Lamothe Cadillac, who had been appointed governor of Louisiana in 1710, did not reach his post on Mobile Bay until 1713. He became at once the active agent of M. Crozat in his commercial enterprise. A few days after his arrival he received orders from the proprietor to approach the Spaniards with a view to establishing trade relations between Louisiana and Mexico.² In pursuance of these instructions, Cadillac dispatched a vessel to Vera Cruz to exchange merchandise for cattle and other necessities, and to secure, if possible, a free entry for French ships into the ports of Mexico. But neither in the smaller nor in the larger purpose was the envoy successful. The viceroy would suffer the vessel to come no farther than the roadstead, where it was permitted to take on only such supplies as were necessary for the return voyage. Nor would he listen to any proposition to open the ports of Mexico to French vessels, declaring instead that the ports of New Spain were closed absolutely to all foreign commerce.³ Thus all hope of building up a profitable trade with Mexico by sea had to be abandoned. But a little later there came into the hands of Governor Cadillac a letter, written by a Spanish priest, which set

¹*Journal Historique*, 39. La Salle's discoveries and explorations offered as a more definite western boundary the Guadalupe river, and in 1714 a French writer makes "the river Madeline (Guadalupe), which is a short river flowing into Saint Bernard bay, and which consequently is neither the Rio Pánuco nor the Rio del Norte," the western limit of the province of Louisiana. See extract from *Memoire de Lemaire*, Margry, VI 184.

²The *Journal Historique*, 113, says this refusal was "to gratify the English with whom the Spanish had made the Assiento Treaty, March 26, 1713.

³Pénicaut, Margry, V 495.

him to a different and more promising enterprise. This was to open an overland trade route across Texas to the northern provinces of Mexico.

It has been noted in a former paragraph that Fray Francisco Hidalgo, when he could no longer hope for aid from his own government in his long-cherished missionary enterprise, turned for assistance to the French of Louisiana. January 17, 1711, he inscribed a letter¹ to the Governor of Louisiana, inviting his co-operation in establishing a mission among the Asinais Indians.² He dispatched three copies of this letter by different routes toward the French settlements, hoping that one of them at least would come into the hands of some Frenchman.³ In this hope he was not to be disappointed, for one of the letters at length found its way to Governor Cadillac. The proposition contained therein fell in well with Cadillac's policy of seeking more friendly relations with Mexico. He was entirely willing to assist the Spanish friars in rebuilding their churches among the Tejas, if thereby he could secure a better commercial arrangement. Accordingly he prepared at once to send a tentative expedition overland to the Rio Grande.

The character of this expedition, it is well to remark, was purely mercantile. It intended no hostile incursion or assertion of territorial claim. In this respect it differed essentially from the plans set forth formerly by La Salle and Peñalosa in their memorials to the crown. They had urged upon the king and his ministers the advantage of the Mississippi as a base for aggressive military operations against Mexico to the end of securing control of the valuable silver mines of Nueva Viscaya. But Crozat was not a warrior, nor were his factors engaged to do the work of soldiers. They were traders merely, seeking a market for their goods, and willing, in pursuit of this object, to waive all nice questions of boundary lines and royal authority. Moreover, in 1713 there was a pressing need that a source be provided whence could be drawn a sufficient

¹Hidalgo may have written this letter while he was living among the Asinais. *Vide* letter of Cadillac, Margry, VI 196, for statement of Saint-Denis, showing that he expected to find Hidalgo there.

²The date of this letter, January 17, 1711, is given in the passport (Texas MSS., 120, *vuelta*) which Cadillac furnished to Saint-Denis in September, 1713; its purport is given by Le Page du Pratz, I 10.

³Le Page du Pratz, I 10.

and regular supply of provisions for the growing colony of Louisiana. To secure this desirable end, and to open the way for a profitable traffic in French merchandise with the markets of Coahuila and Nuevo Leon were the designs of Cadillac in responding favorably to the petition of Hidalgo, the Spanish priest.¹

The undertaking was not an easy one. The way was long, the Indians were not always friendly, and the Spanish were jealous and suspicious. It required the energies of a man of tact, courage, and experience. For this difficult and delicate task Saint-Denis, by reason of his long residence in the country, his friendly standing with the Indian tribes, his familiarity with the westward routes of travel, and his knowledge of the Spanish language, seemed eminently fitted. At the time he was in command of the old fort at Biloxi, from which post he was called to Mobile to confer with the governor. He readily accepted the trust offered him, and entered into a contract with Cadillac by which he agreed to take ten thousand livres worth of merchandise from the public store, to transport it across Texas to Mexico, and to endeavor there to dispose of it. The passport² given to him was dated September 12, 1713, and set forth the objects of the expedition thus: "The sieur de Saint-Denis is to take twenty-four men and as many Indians as necessary and with them go in search of the mission of Fray Francisco Hidalgo in response to his letter of January 17, 1711, and there to purchase horses and cattle for the Province of Louisiana." Herein was indicated a desire to confer with Hidalgo, probably concerning the proposed mission among the Asinai, and a wish to open up commerce with the Spanish settlements to the extent, at least, of obtaining for Louisiana a supply of cattle and horses. For practical reasons the passport did not reveal an ultimate design of securing a general free trade treaty with Mexico; the experience of his ship in the port of Vera Cruz had taught Cadillac the unwisdom of frankly avowing his purpose. Hence, no doubt, it was deemed expedient that the formal statement of the objects of the expedition should mention only the purpose of obtaining the animals which were necessary to the life and comfort of the colonists, and which the Spanish, since they had them in abundance,

¹Le Page du Pratz, I 9.

²Patente, Texas MSS., 120 vuelta.

would likely be glad to exchange for French merchandise. It may have been also in the mind of Cadillac that the establishment of a mission among the Tejas Indians would bring the Spaniards nearer to Louisiana, and thus facilitate trade between the two peoples. It is evident that the expedition did look further than the purchase of a few horses and cattle; the confessed motive was but a device to hide the ulterior motive, or rather, perhaps, a feeler put out to try how much in the way of trade the Spaniards might be induced to grant.

It was probably in the latter part of September, 1713, that Saint-Denis set out from Mobile, with his men and goods, in five canoes. At Fort St. John, Biloxi, they halted while Pénicaud, our historian, with several other men, proceeded up the Mississippi to secure for guides some Nachitoches Indians who lived with a tribe on the eastern side of the river. They were detained at Biloxi several months,¹ on account of difficulties with the Indians, and it is probable that the journey was not resumed until the following year.² At the village of the Tonicas, two leagues above the mouth of Red River, the company halted again to collect provisions, and to induce the chief of the Tonicas and several of his men to accompany the party on the journey west.³ From this point they propelled their canoes eighty leagues up the river to a village of the

¹Pénicaud, Margry, V 497.

²The Spanish governor of Pensacola, Don Gregorio Salinas de Varona, had heard rumors of this expedition before August 21, 1713, for on that date he wrote to the viceroy informing him that twenty Frenchmen and fifty Indians with six boats loaded with merchandise had set out from Mobile to introduce goods into Mexico. *Vide Dictamen Fiscal*, Texas MSS., 127 *vuelta*, 191 *vuelta*. La Harpe, in an extract from his journal, Margry, VI 193, says that Saint-Denis set out from Mobile August 23, 1714. The *patente* is dated September 12, 1713. Pénicaud has the expedition begin soon after the arrival of Cadillac at Mobile. Saint-Denis in his *Declaración*, dated June 22, 1715, does not give the date of his departure, but says that he set out from Mobile about a year and nine months before. It seems probable that he left Mobile in September, 1713, the detention at Biloxi preventing a real departure until some time in the early months of 1714. This view is sustained by the fact that he stopped six months or more among the Tejas Indians, and reached the Rio Grande before February 15, 1715.

³Pénicaud, Margry, V 497.

Nachitoches. Here they built two store-houses¹ wherein to bestow their merchandise; and, leaving a guard of ten men to protect the new post, with an additional contingent of thirty Nachitoches, they proceeded to the village of the Asinais, where the Spanish had formerly had a mission. Here among the Tejas the journey seems to have been suspended, though the intention of prosecuting it farther was not entirely abandoned. They found among these Indians an abundant supply of horses and cattle,² so that, for the first purpose of the expedition, they had no need to proceed farther. For six months or more they seem to have carried on an active exchange with the Indians of French guns, beads, knives, and cloth for beasts and buffalo hides.³ Of this traffic the post lately established on the Red River was naturally the center. Saint-Denis, during this time, returned to the Natchez on the Mississippi to give an account of his journey to the Governor, after which he took more goods and repaired again to the country of the Asinais.⁴

The Frenchmen found that notwithstanding it had been more than five years since a Spaniard had been among the Asinais, some

¹Pénicaud, Margry, V 498.

²*Declaracion de Saint-Denis*, Texas MSS., 124.

³*Carta del Capitan Domingo Ramon*, Texas MSS., 134 vuelta.

⁴La Harpe, Margry, VI 193.

The fact that Saint-Denis's journey was not continuous from the time of his departure from Mobile to his arrival in Mexico has not, I think, been noticed by modern historians. Pénicaud's account makes the expedition continuous, but he may be thinking of only one phase of it. The *Declaración* takes no account of long stops, nor on the other hand does it account for the year and nine months on the road. The evidence on which I have based the statement above is as follows: Captain Ramon in a letter to the viceroy, written in July, 1716, commends Saint-Denis for the assistance he had given the Spaniards through his knowledge of the Indian language, saying: "For he once lived in this province six months on two occasions. He has given the Tejas eighteen or twenty French arquebuses, many beads, bugles, knives, ribbons, some clasp-knives, small pieces of blue and red cloth, and some coats; all of which the French have traded for some beasts the times they have entered this province." Velasco, *Dictamen Fiscal*, Texas MSS., 192, calls attention to the inconsistency of these facts as given by Ramon and the statement of Saint-Denis in his *Declaración*, and states further that the governor of Pensacola had given notice, under date of October 20, 1715, "of what the French were publishing in Mobile: that they had reached the province of Coahuila and carried away

of them still adhered to the Catholic faith.¹ Among this number was Bernadino, their governor, probably the same Bernadino mentioned in Leon's and Teran's narratives.² The Indians earnestly urged Saint-Denis to ask the Spanish missionaries to return and establish missions among them, expressing a particular desire to see again Fray Hidalgo and Captain Urrutia. Bernadino and twenty-five of his men set out to accompany the party of Frenchmen to act as guides, and to solicit in person a return of the missionaries to their village. On the bank of the San Marcos they encountered a band of two hundred hostile Indians from the coast country, the mortal enemies of the Asinais.³ A fierce battle followed, in which the Asinais were victorious, killing twelve of the enemy and wounding many others. They pursued the defeated savages to their *rancherías*, where they compelled them to make peace. All of the Asinais then, except Bernadino and three others, turned back home. The remnant of the party continued the journey, passing the San Antonio river, where was an Indian village. Saint-Denis remarked the spot, observing that it was very suitable for a village, and worthy a good *presidio*.⁴ At the end of about six weeks, during which time they had traveled one hundred and twenty leagues from the country of the Asinais, they arrived⁵ at the

a great number of cattle." The rumor would presumably have reached Pensacola in an exaggerated and twisted form, but the facts are in the main correct. It is to be understood, however, that they carried away the cattle from the country of the Asinais, and not from Coahuila. La Harpe, as cited above, says: "Saint-Denis, after this expedition [to the Asinais], returned to the Natchez, 113 leagues, to the Mississippi, to give an account of his journey to M. de Lamothe. He took in this place the goods of which he had need and, having ascended the Red River with five Frenchmen, returned to the Nachitoches, and thence to the Asinais."

¹Pénicaut (Margry, V 499) mentions a woman named Angelica who had been baptized by a Spanish priest, and spoke the Spanish language well enough to act as interpreter.

²Bonilla, *Breve Compendio de los sucesos de texas*, Texas MSS., 6 vuelta, says it was the "ancient governor."

³Bonilla, *ibid.*, says, "Naturally, they must have been Apaches."

⁴This was probably the spot where the mission and *presidio* of San Antonio were established a few years later.

⁵Probably early in 1715, as Saint-Denis sent a letter to Cadillac dated February, 1715, telling him of their arrival at the *presidio*. Margry, VI, 195.

presidio of Captain Diego Ramon, two leagues beyond the Rio Grande.

Saint-Denis presented to the commander of the *presidio* his passport, wherein was exhibited the object of the expedition. Here was a delicate question for Captain Ramon. The passport contained a distinct proposition for the Spaniards to enter into commercial relations with a foreign nation. As this was contrary to all precedent, and to the declared policy of his government, the commander did not feel competent to act without instructions from the viceroy. He therefore deferred his answer to Saint-Denis's proposition, and detained the Frenchman and his companions till he could communicate with a higher authority. He had certainly sufficient ground for caution. The Frenchmen had traversed more than four hundred miles of Spanish territory without invitation or permission; they were trespassers on foreign soil. It is possible also that Ramon had received orders to be on the lookout for just such a party as this, since the governor of Pensacola, in August, 1713, had written the viceroy that a company of Frenchmen would try to introduce merchandise into Mexico.¹ But though Captain Ramon felt himself bound to arrest the intruders till he should have instructions what to do with them, he accorded them the most courteous treatment while they were awaiting the return of the messenger who had been sent to the viceroy.² Saint-Denis, Pénicaut, Jallot, and the surgeon he entertained in his own house, and provided quarters for the others.³ February 15th, Saint-Denis dispatched some of his men secretly to the governor of Louisiana, to inform him of what had happened since their arrival upon the Rio Grande. He writes that, while he might escape by stealth, he does not wish to do so, "As seeing a good fortune before my eyes and wishing to put my name in repute, I rejoice at all that may happen, for I

¹*Dictamen Fiscal*, Texas MSS., 127 *vuelta*.

²Saint-Denis in the letter cited above says, "The captain does not dare to let us go without an order from the viceroy." Pénicaut, p. 501, says that the commander wrote to the governor of Coahuila for advice, who sent in turn to inquire of the governor of Parral; and that after six weeks the former sent a company of soldiers to convey Saint-Denis to his capital.

³The fact that Pénicaut calls the commander Don Pedro Villescas after having been in his house for several months rather casts a shadow upon the truthfulness of his narrative.

fear nothing from these people or from Mexico." Lest, however, this good fortune shall in the end prove uncertain or elusive, he deems it prudent to bespeak for himself the good offices of the governor. "After all the risks I have run," he adds, "and the services which I have rendered the public, I flatter myself that you will serve as my patron, and that you will procure me some employment at Mobile."¹ After several weeks the governor of Coahuila sent a detachment of soldiers to convey the Frenchman to his capital. Saint-Denis took with him only his *valet de chambre*, Medar Jalot, sending Pénicaut and the others back to the post on the Red River to await his return. From Monclova he was conducted to the City of Mexico, arriving there sometime in June.²

The announcement that a party of Frenchmen had crossed the Rio Grande could have created no great surprise in the City of Mexico; for, as we have seen, the Spanish Governor of Pensacola had previously sent warning that such an expedition was in progress. The fiscal had even gone so far as to recommend that active steps be taken to prevent the expected *entrada*,³ and the viceroy had written to the governor of Mobile giving him to understand that he was apprised of the intention of the French, and warning them to refrain from entering territory that belonged to His Majesty, the King of Spain.⁴ When, therefore, Saint-Denis reached the capital, the government was prepared to deal with him. He was called to several audiences with the viceroy in which he was questioned concerning the object of his expedition. To all of these interrogatories he replied in careful conformance to the letter of his instructions: "That his governor had sent him to Father Francisco Hidalgo, and at the same time to see if he could get some beasts for Louisiana, for which they would pay in silver or in merchandise; but that, not having found the father at the place from which he had written, and having heard that he was at the

¹Extract from a letter of Saint-Denis to Cadillac, Margry, VI 495.

²Before the 22nd, for his *Declaración* is dated June 22, 1715. La Harpe and Pénicaut make the date of his arrival June 25th. Le Page du Pratz, I 14, says June 5th. The latter date is no doubt correct.

³*Dictamen Fiscal*, Texas MSS., 127 *vuelta*.

⁴*Junta de Guerra*, Texas MSS., 211.

Rio Bravo del Norte, he had continued his course thither."¹ He was requested also to dictate a formal narrative of his journey, which should be taken down in writing and submitted, together with his passport, to the fiscal. This writing, it was intended, should be an exhibit of the purpose and events of the expedition, with a description and map of the route followed. But Saint-Denis discreetly refrained from making a more explicit statement of his intentions, and related only such events as would not tend to prejudice his cause, concerning himself rather to describe in detail the different stages of his journey and the physical character of the country through which he had passed. With considerable tact he emphasized the "natural affection" which the Indians had for the Spanish, and their desire to have the friars return and re-establish missions among them. He omitted to account for the year and nine months that had elapsed since he set out from Mobile; said nothing of the post established at the Nachitoches; and forgot to mention the several months' sojourn of his party among the Asinais, and their lively trade in cattle. Evidently he would have made it appear to his inquisitors that the journey from Mobile to the Rio Grande had been continuous, and that nothing detrimental to their interests had occurred on the way.

When the *Declaración* had been prepared, a translation of it, with the map and all the documents relating to the province of Texas, was submitted to Espinosa, the fiscal, in order that he might formulate therefrom a *dictamen* embodying his opinion and recommendations in the matter, to be laid before a *junta de guerra*. To this council, called to meet August 22, 1715, Espinosa pointed out² with much plausibility the results which would follow this French incursion. The French had opened a route by which the commerce of the northern provinces might be diverted from its usual channels and eventually destroyed; they had laid out a road to Coahuila, and it would be but a matter of a short time till they discovered the mines of Nueva Estremadura, Viscaya, and Parral, and they had gained such a knowledge of the country and the ways

¹Extract from a letter of Cadillac to his government, giving the substance of a message sent by Saint-Denis from the City of Mexico. Margry, VI 196.

²*Dictamen Fiscal*, Texas MSS., 126 *vuelta*.

by which it could be traversed as would enable them easily to carry on illicit trade with Mexico. In short, the commerce of the north was threatened with destruction; the valuable mines were liable to immediate discovery; and the province of Texas was in imminent danger of being possessed by the encroaching French. To guard against these dire contingencies, the fiscal recommended two measures to be put into effect at once: the governors of the northern provinces must be instructed carefully to prohibit the further entrance of the French upon Spanish territory, and the missions must be re-established upon the eastern frontier. To accomplish the latter object Olivares and Hidalgo and one other friar should be sent without delay into the country of the Tejas to found a mission for the purpose of instructing the heathen savages in the holy Catholic faith. Moral or religious considerations had little weight in fixing this determination; the principal argument in favor of a second missionary venture was that with the proper instruction the Indians would become more firmly bound to the Spanish, and would serve as a barrier against the further advance of the French. Watchfulness and constant activity alone could save Texas to the crown of Spain.

The council of war approved the recommendations of the fiscal, and drew up a plan by which they should be put into effect. The plan included three prescriptions. The governors of Parral, Nuevo Leon, Galicia, and Coahuila should be instructed to prevent the introduction of any goods into their territories by the French, and the sale of cattle to them; twenty-five soldiers and a captain should go, with a sufficient number of priests, and establish four missions among the Tejas Indians; and strict inquiry should be made concerning any French settlements in the country, and a watch kept upon the movements of the French of Louisiana, and information furnished the government promptly of any demonstrations hostile to the interests of Spain. It was provided also that in the organization of the missions two soldiers should be left to guard each establishment, and these soldiers were to confine themselves to their respective missions and to refrain from engaging in private business. Each soldier was to receive a salary of four hundred dollars and the captain five hundred, and each should be paid one year's salary in advance. Whatever supplies of provisions, munitions,

and other necessities were required for a successful prosecution of the enterprise were ordered to be furnished.

Again the vice-regal government was ready to undertake the occupation of Texas; but, as in the former attempt, the impulse to such a movement was fear rather than inclination. It required the actual presence in the City of Mexico of Frenchmen who had traveled unhindered more than four hundred miles across Spanish territory to arouse the dilatory and indifferent officials to action. As long as they could be reasonably sure that a wide reach of unknown country lay between their frontier and the nearest European settlement, and that their mines were safely hidden from foreign eyes, they were well content to do nothing. Texas could remain an untenanted wilderness; the Tejas Indians might clamor in vain for the saving ministrations of the priests; and the Spanish title to the vast domain east of the Rio Grande could remain asserted. But in a day, as it were, all was changed. Texas was no longer an unknown land; the commerce of the northern provinces could no longer with certainty be confined to its former southern paths; and the hidden treasures of the mountains were all but revealed to envious foreign eyes. Here was an emergency that demanded action, sufficiently imperative, indeed, to arouse the government of Mexico to set in motion its slow, cumbrous mission-*presidio* process of occupation and colonization.

The similarity between this advance movement, as outlined in the plan of the *junta de guerra*, and those of 1690 and 1691, is evident at once. In this instance, as in the former ones, fear of French encroachment furnished the incentive. Now, as then, a small body of soldiers was sent forth with a few friars to establish missions among the Tejas Indians, and to keep watch on the French; and now, as then, these establishments were to be far from any base of supplies, unconnected by any line of forts or settlements with the frontier *presidios* of Mexico, and dependent for existence on the good will of the natives. The disastrous ending of their former missionary efforts had taught the Spaniards little. The emergency was greater than in 1690 or 1691, but the energy put forth to meet it was less. The expedition, as planned, was upon a much smaller scale than that of Teran: the military and spiritual contingents were smaller; fewer missions were contemplated; and there was to be no co-operative movement by sea. There was, however, a notable

difference between this and the former expeditions, due rather to changed conditions than to any accession of intelligence or wisdom on the part of the Mexican government. In 1690 the French offered no real menace to Spanish interests. The elaborate plans of La Salle and Peñalosa had ended in the abortive colony on Bay St. Louis. For many years the French concerned themselves little about their territorial claims in the southern part of the Western World, and the right of Spain to whatever lands she might desire was undisputed. But by 1715 a different state of affairs existed. The French were established at the mouth of the Mississippi. For several years they had been sending their traders westward to explore the country and traffic with the Indians, and were beginning to feel and to assert a paramount title to the lands discovered by La Salle. They stood upon the very threshold of Spanish territory, and were threatening at any moment to enter and take possession. With their rivals thus established, active, energetic, and aggressive, the Spaniards could not, as in the former instance, allow their missionary and colonizing enthusiasm to expend itself in a single ephemeral effort. They must follow up the first expedition with others. They must found not four missions, but as many as would be needed to secure them in possession of the country. Each mission must have, not two soldiers, but as large a garrison as was necessary to protect it from the savages, and from the advancing French. They must secure and fortify a port on the Texas coast. They must be at all times active and vigilant. In this constant and growing necessity for watchfulness and activity on the part of the Spaniards of Mexico lay the best promise of a permanent occupation of Texas.

Moreover, the missionary program of 1715 differed in one significant respect from those of 1690 and 1691. If the Spanish had not brought many lessons out of the costly experimenting of Father Manzanet, they had learned one of considerable value. The failure of the first missions among the Tejas had been due largely to the evil conduct of the soldiers. Unmarried men, and adventurers merely, they had been little disposed to settle down soberly and industriously to the routine of mission life, and instead of aiding the friars in their noble work, hindered them rather by their vicious lives. To prevent a recurrence of this evil it was determined, in the later movement, to send with the priests, as far as

possible, only men of family, who would be more circumspect in their conduct, and who would go with the expectation of making homes for themselves in the new country. With wives and mothers in the company, and actual settlers equipped with agricultural implements—plows and hoes—and oxen, the expedition began to look, in a degree at least, like a sane attempt to occupy and colonize the eastern wilderness.

On the 30th of September the viceroy, the Duque de Linares, appointed Domingo Ramon captain of the soldiers and leader of the expedition. Saint-Denis must have made a favorable impression on the Spaniards, for he was offered a place in the company of Captain Ramon, which he accepted, receiving the title of *cabo camboyadar* (chief guide), at a salary of five hundred dollars a year.¹ If an answer was made to his proposition to open up trade in cattle, nothing of it appears in the record, and we can not be sure that he went so far as to broach the subject of a general commercial treaty. Apparently, in entering the service of Mexico, he gave up the original object of his journey. It is possible, however, that he was merely shifting from one expedient to another.² The traffic in horses and cattle was to have been only an introduction to a larger trade. If he could accomplish his purpose more easily and directly by employing other means, he was willing to alter his plans accordingly. The establishment of the missions would bring the Spaniards nearer to the French, and would furnish a more convenient market for his goods. Moreover, by assisting in found-

¹He was called also *conductor de viveres* (Texas MSS., 213). It is interesting in this connection to note the double part that Saint-Denis was playing. He accepted office under the Mexican government, receiving a year's salary in advance, to abet an enterprise which was in direct opposition to the interests of his own government. At the same time, under date of September 7, he wrote to the governor of Louisiana advising him that the viceroy was about to send a party to establish a mission among the Tejas. He asked that a brigantine be sent to Espiritu Santo bay, and declared that it would be necessary for the king of France to demand that the boundary of Louisiana be fixed at the Rio Grande.

²Le Page du Pratz, who had excellent means of knowing the truth, having written his *Histoire de Louisiane* with the memoirs of Saint-Denis before him, says (I 14): "The viceroy, the Duque de Linares, had naturally an affection for France, and promised to make a treaty of commerce as soon as the Spaniards should be settled at the Asinais." There is nothing in the Spanish documents to support such a statement.

ing the missions he might reasonably hope to gain the friendship of the Spanish, and thus render it easier to carry out his plans of trade. The right of the French to the vast territory of Texas he seems to have been willing to waive, if thereby he might better his own material fortunes and those of his patron.

The defection of Saint-Denis to the service of the Spanish was no doubt influenced to an extent also by an *affaire de coeur* in which he became involved soon after his arrival upon the Rio Grande. While he was at the *presidio* of San Juan he fell in love with the granddaughter of the commander. The attachment was mutual, and nothing but the necessity that Saint-Denis was under of proceeding to the city of Mexico prevented a speedy consummation of their desires. As soon, therefore, as he could come to an understanding with the high officers of the government, he returned to the *presidio* to celebrate his marriage with Doña María,¹ and to await there the coming of Captain Ramon and his company.

He had time to enjoy but a few weeks of conjugal felicity. February 17, 1716, Captain Ramon set out from the Villa de Saltillo, leaving behind six soldiers as an escort for the friars, who were to come later.² On the 3rd of March the padres overtook the company, and they all proceeded northward toward the *presidio* of the Rio Grande, halting at several villas and missions along the way. As a result of the bad financial policy of paying in advance, six of the soldiers deserted before they came to the river, taking with them their horses and the money they had received.³ Supplies of all kinds, such as goats, meal, corn, etc., were collected along the road. At the Mission de la Punta, Padre Hidalgo and three other friars joined the party.⁴ They arrived April 18th at

¹Doña María was the granddaughter of Diego Ramon, and the niece of Captain Domingo Ramon.

²Captain Ramon, in his *Derrotero* (Texas MSS., 135 *vuelta et seq.*), carefully details the events of his *entrada*.

³Velasco, *Dictamen*, Texas MSS., 214. *Informe dado por Domingo Ramon*, *ibid.*, 133.

⁴Le Page du Pratz (I 17, 20) speaks of a jealousy that existed between Olivares and Hidalgo, and says that the latter besought Saint-Denis to prevent Olivares from going on the expedition, on account of his jealous and turbulent disposition. Olivares, although recommended by the fiscal, is not to be found among the number of friars.

the *presidio* of the Rio Grande, where Diego Ramon, the father of Captain Domingo Ramon was in command. Here they halted for a day to collect more provisions. The 20th was consumed in putting across the river more than a thousand head of cattle and goats. They were delayed at the Rio Grande until the 27th, waiting for the friars, who had been detained by the illness of Fray Antonio Margil de Jesus, chief of the Zacatecas friars. Here Isidoro Felix de Espinosa, president of the missions around San Juan, joined the company as director of the Querétaro friars.

Captain Ramon, while they were in camp at the river, made a list of all the persons in his company. The religious party consisted of five friars, one lay brother, and one lay friar,¹ besides Espinosa and Hidalgo already mentioned. Captain Ramon, his son and lieutenant Diego (grandson of the elder Diego Ramon), and twenty-two soldiers formed the military escort. Of these soldiers five were married, and one married *en route*. The Frenchmen in the party were Saint-Denis, Jalot, and one other. In addition to the military and religious contingents there were two men with their families, and thirteen unmarried men who were going out apparently as prospective settlers and traders. These, with seven married women, one girl, two children, a negro, and five Indians constituted the company, which counted a total of sixty-five persons.

On the 27th of April, Father Margil, being still unable to travel,² the company set out from the Rio Grande. Saint-Denis, acting as guide, led the way over the northern and more direct route, afterwards known as the Old *Presidio* Road. The details of the journey need not detain us. On the 5th of May they halted to celebrate the marriage of Lorenzo Mercado, a soldier, and Anna Guerra. They camped on the 15th of the same month at some

¹Their names were Benito Sanchez, Manuel Castellanos, Pedro de Mendoza, Gabriel Vergara, Matías Sanchez de San Antonio, Gabriel Cubillos (lay friar), Fr. Domingo (lay brother). *Derrotero de Ramon, Texas MSS.*, 141 *vuelta*. Counting Margil there were ten friars. Bancroft (*North Mexican States and Texas*, I 604) says twelve, and two laymen. Bonilla (*Texas MSS.*, 7) says "five friars of Querétaro and four of Zacatecas, and three laymen."

²He must have recovered quickly and overtaken the company before or shortly after it came to the Tejas Indians, for he was there soon after the arrival of the party.

springs to which they gave the name of San Pedro. These springs were at the source of the San Antonio river. Captain Ramon noted the spot as one most suitable for the building of a city. They found the Colorado swollen by recent rains, and crossed it with difficulty, after ascending some four leagues. Beyond the Colorado they found buffaloes in abundance, and from them easily provided meat to supply the entire company. After they had crossed the Brazos, which they called the San Xavier, they found the Indians becoming more numerous, for they were approaching the country of the Tejas. Everywhere the natives manifested great joy when they learned that the Spaniards were returning to live among them. Captain Ramon, in his *Derrotero*, has much to say of the beauty of the country. The Guadalupe river he thinks more beautiful than can be imagined. There were lakes filled with fishes; game of all kind in abundance; streams bordered with umbrageous trees; vines in profusion, loaded with half-ripe grapes; pastures with grass so luxuriant that the horses could hardly be made to travel through it; valleys flanked with cedars, willows, sycamores, live-oaks, walnuts, and lofty pines; and fields of water-melons and maize from which the Indians, in token of their friendship, brought ripe melons and young corn.

Saint-Denis made himself useful to Captain Ramon as an interpreter, and his great influence with the Indians was helpful in securing for the Spaniards a kindly reception.¹ He went on in advance of the company to the Tejas tribes, where, according to the plan, the first mission should be established, and gave notice of the approach of the Spaniards, returning soon at the head of a mounted delegation of chiefs. Captain Ramon received them with proper ceremony, the flaunting of banners and the firing of guns; and when they had all smoked the pipe of peace, the Indians led the way to their village. On the way thither they met a larger body of natives who come to meet them, bearing gifts of maize, watermelons, and tamales, which they heaped together in a pile before the Spaniards. Captain Ramon, with reciprocal courtesy, ordered cloth, dishes, hats, and tobacco to be distributed among the Indians. Then by means of an interpreter he addressed them, telling them that the Spaniards had come to look after the welfare

¹*Carta de Ramon*, Texas MSS., 134 *vuelta*; Saint-Denis is especially commended as being "obedient and faithful to our nation."

of their souls, and to bring them to a knowledge of the Holy Law and to a recognition of the authority of King Felipe V, who, by the hands of the Duque de Linares, viceroy of New Spain, had sent them these gifts as a token of his love. He instructed them, also, for the good government of their people, to select from their number one who should be their captain general. The Indians thereupon withdrew to confer together, and in a short time sent forward the youngest of their great chiefs, as the one whose rule they could the most easily endure. To him were given the baston and Captain Ramon's own jacket as insignia of his rank and office.

When these courtesies and ceremonies were finished, the journey was resumed. On June 30th they came to the spot where the first mission of San Francisco de los Tejas had been established by Father Manzanet in 1690. Captain Ramon, the friars, and some of the Indian chiefs set out to find a site for the new mission. They selected a spot four leagues farther inland than the original mission, because it was the choice of the Indians themselves. On the 3rd of July the new mission of San Francisco was established upon the site selected, in the village of the Nacoches, the chief of three tribes for whom this mission was to be the religious center. Father Hidalgo, the only representative of the friars, who more than twenty-five years before had worked among the Tejas, was placed in charge of the mission. Other missions were soon afterward established. The second, Purísima Concepción, was placed at the pueblo of the Asinais, nine leagues northeast from the first; and the third, Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, was nine leagues southeast from Concepción, in the village of the Nacogdoches. These three missions stood on the road by which the French had made their incursions into Texas, and were thus intended to guard against further trespass. A fourth, called San Joseph, was established among the Noaches, seven leagues northeast of Concepción. Later in the year, when the Spaniards discovered the presence of the French on Red River, they built two other missions still farther east and southeast, among the Adays and Ays. The one among the Adays, called San Miguel de Linares, was only eight leagues from the French post at the Nachitoches. The one among the Ays was called Nuestra Señora de los Dolores.¹ Concepción was nominated the capital of the missions founded and to be

¹*Representacion hecha por Antonio Margil de Jesus, Texas MSS., 223.*

founded by the Zacatecas friars, with Fray Antonio Margil de Jesus as president. Of the six missions already mentioned, three, namely, Concepción, San Miguel de Linares, and Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, were placed in his charge. Of the other three, and of all others that should be established by the Querétaro friars, Fray Isidoro Felix de Espinosa was made president. It was agreed between the two presidents that each religious fraternity should draw its converts from the tribes in its own immediate territory, that there might be no conflict.

An Indian captain general was chosen by the community of Indians for each mission, and his election approved by Captain Ramon. In like manner a governor and an *alcalde* were chosen for each pueblo; a treasurer was appointed from the friars at each mission; and a garrison was left for the protection of each establishment. Thus a sort of polity was created under Spanish control. The motive was not more religious than political. Here were six missionary settlements planted in the heart of the Indian country. They were widely separated, and each stood in the center of a populous tribe. Thus the Spaniards endeavored to occupy and control as much territory as possible. They could not, of course, expect with a few scattered and feeble garrisons to resist a determined advance of the French; but they could, from their several posts, maintain a watch upon their enemies, and keep the home government informed of their movements. And in the meantime the work of converting the natives to the Christian religion and the Spanish allegiance could go on. Within reach of the missions were some four or five thousand Indians. To convert these, and to discipline them so that they might be effectively employed, in the event of a conflict with their rivals, was the task the Spanish priests and soldiers set themselves to accomplish.

Here, for the present, the narrative must end. It was my purpose to trace the history of this second missionary impulse only to the founding of the missions, and to indicate the motives, both of the French and the Spanish, which contributed to secure their establishment. The significant facts may be briefly summarized by way of conclusion. The Saint-Denis expedition, from the viewpoint of the French, was a business enterprise growing out of the commercial policy of Antoine Crozat and his agent, Cadillac; it was in no sense military or political, but sought merely to secure

for the French of Louisiana a freer and more profitable trade arrangement with Mexico. The same business motive no doubt led Saint-Denis, when he failed in his first effort, to accept service with the Spanish and to assist to introduce their friars and soldiers into territory which might, with much justice, have been claimed as French. The missionary and colonizing expedition of 1716 was the immediate result of the presence of Saint-Denis and his companions in Mexico; the rulers of New Spain were again brought to fear that the French would supersede them in the lands east of the Rio Grande. Both in its plan and purpose, as well as in the motive which occasioned it, the *entrada* of Captain Ramon resembled those of Leon and Teran, respectively in 1690 and 1691. But there were two notable differences. The presence of women in the company, and of men equipped for active settlement, gave it the aspect of a permanent colonizing enterprise. The elements which in the earlier effort at settlement had offended and irritated the Indians, were at this time, to a great extent, absent; and instead of being jealous and hostile, the natives were constantly friendly, and willing to assist the Spaniards in whatever way they were required. But the most important difference lay in the changed attitude of the French. Instead of an abandoned fort and a few refugees scattered among the Indian tribes, Captain Ramon found the rivals of Spain settled upon Red River, and facing aggressively westward. To have withdrawn again would have meant surely to abandon Texas to the French. Moreover, to make permanent the missions established among the Tejas tribes it was necessary to go further, to extend the sphere of occupation, and to make a greater show of strength. To this end a mission and a *presidio* were soon established upon the San Antonio river, a half-way house between the remote settlements on the Neches and Sabine, and the outlying settlements of Mexico; to facilitate communication by sea with the home government, a post was established on San Bernard Bay; and in order that they might better control the Indians and repel the advance of the French, the garrisons of the several missions were increased to an effective force. This time there was to be no retreat.

The importance of the Saint-Denis expedition has been variously estimated. One class of writers has been able to see in it little more than the romantic escapade of a young and daring adven-

turer, who ingratiated himself into the favor of the Spanish officials and won a Spanish bride. Others have declared vaguely that it resulted in the laying out of the Old *Presidio* Road, which became later the great highway between Texas and Mexico. Neither class of writers has come near the truth. The real significance of the expedition is that it determined the ownership of Texas. The Spanish established, by the fact of actual possession, their title to the lands east of the Rio Grande. The *entrada* of Captain Ramon was followed by others till a line of missions and *presidios* was established extending from the lands of the Ays and Adays to the Rio Grande; and the western limit of Louisiana was fixed at the Sabine. But for the menace of Saint-Denis's presence to arouse the slow and indifferent Mexican government to action, it is probable that the movement to occupy Texas would not have come till much later. The French might have continued unrestricted their westward advance to the Neches and the Sabine, and farther even to the Brazos and the Colorado. Texas would have become French instead of Spanish; and, if we may venture to speculate upon what might have happened, the whole course of history in the Southwest would have been changed. When later the vast territory of Louisiana was transferred by France to the United States, Texas, or a considerable part of it, would have been included. There would have been, alas! no Texas Revolution, and no Mexican war. The conflict between Anglo-Saxon and Spaniard in the Southwest would have been avoided, or would have taken an entirely different form; and the acquisition of California would have been indefinitely delayed. In this view the Saint-Denis expedition becomes of great importance. A mere trading enterprise, sent out as an experiment by Governor Cadillac in conformance to the commercial policy of Antoine Crozat, is dignified into a notable historical movement, a determining factor not only in the history of Texas, but also in the course of our larger national growth.

EDUCATIONAL EFFORTS IN SAN FERNANDO DE
BEXAR.

I. J. COX.¹

To one only superficially acquainted with the history of Texas, under the Spanish and Mexican *régimes*, the above title may be the occasion for two surprises: first, that the authorities or citizens of the villa of San Fernando ever made commendable efforts in any direction whatever; and second, that any effort that they should chance to make should be directed towards education. Yet both of these facts are true; and, when due consideration is given to the aggregate of such efforts, the net result is not inconsiderable, nor the effect upon our present system lightly to be ignored.

By my title I am restrained from any consideration of the educational system of other portions of New Spain; in which, however, not a single public free school was established, prior to 1793² I must also pass over the work of the Franciscan missionaries, which, though churchly in character, was creditable in result. The field is restricted to the villa of San Fernando, which later developed into the "city" of San Fernando de Bexar, more familiar to us by its modern name of San Antonio. The subject naturally divides itself into two principal chapters: *Education under Spanish Rule*, and *Education under Mexican Rule*.

I.

EDUCATION UNDER SPANISH RULE.

Matters strictly educational did not early occupy the attention of the officials of San Fernando. Indeed, this is not surprising, for the members of the *cabildo* (town council) were far from being men of keen intellectual perception, while the generality of

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²Revilla Gigedo, *Instruccion Reservada*, par. 335.

the people were all too content with gaining an existence with the least possible effort, to demand anything better. The first real sign of educational awakening is contained in a petition, presented to the *cabildo*, in 1789, by Don José Francisco de la Mata.¹ In this paper he says that, led by pity for the ignorance of the youth of the villa, he had, a few years before, opened a sort of school for them, in which they might learn something of the proprieties of the church service, of parental control, and of public duties. The object of his petition is to secure the good will of the members of the *cabildo*, the coöperation of the village curate, the modest little stipend of twelve *reales* per pupil, and lastly, but by no means of least import, the formal authorization of his school by the proper authorities, in order to prevent the undue interference of parents with his educational methods.

The lot of this pedagogue could not have been a very happy one, for he tells the members of the *cabildo* that the parents of those to whom he had administered mild punishments were accustomed to threaten him in a most insulting manner in the very presence of their children. They would also, upon the least provocation, remove the latter from his school, a policy disastrous alike to parents, children, and the community at large. Perhaps these trials could have been endured with greater equanimity had his salary been in any way commensurate with his labors; but he had made his tuition fees purposely small in order to attract to his teaching all the children of the community.²

As Don José Francisco asked for little more than the good will of the *cabildo* and the forwarding of his petition to the governor for his necessary approval, his request was readily received by the members and forwarded according to his wish. The governor granted what the petitioner desired, but as the document abruptly ends at this point, we can learn no more of Don José's pioneer educational experiment. From another document we learn that, three years later, he was arrested and imprisoned because the members of the *ayuntamiento* found in possession of one of the

¹Petition, May 1, 1789. Bexar Archives.

²The census for 1783 gave this number as 321 boys and 264 girls; the figures for 1791 are 285 boys and 268 girls. Bexar Archives.

alcaldes, certain papers of his, unworthily criticising the governor of the province.¹ However, no record of his trial appears.

Some thirteen years later a new governor, Juan Bautista Elgue-zabal, tries his hand at stirring the community to an educational awakening. He issues a long decree that contains many regulations for the betterment of conditions, among which none is more important than the one in which he orders the *alcaldes* and the *alguacil mayor* to see that parents place their children in school, and to oblige them to do this under severe penalties, for the provision was of the greatest importance to the religious and political life of the community.² The following year he attempts to enlist the coöperation of the *cabildo* in the matter. At the meeting of that body, on January 20, the main topic for discussion is the foundation of a school and the selection of its master. José Francisco Ruiz, possibly a son of the pioneer pedagogue, is selected for the position, provided his minority does not render him incompetent to fill it. His residence, for the present, is to constitute the school-house.³

From the two items noted above, we should imagine that the school sessions had been, since 1789, by no means regular or well attended. In all probability both private initiative on the part of the master and popular support from the individual citizens would be necessary for any sort of school whatever, and not infrequently one or both of these elements was lacking. The mystery about the matter is that the governor of the province should at all concern himself about education. Possibly the leaven of Revilla Gigedo's public schools, introduced at the capital during the previous decade, was just beginning to make itself felt in the far-off province of Texas.

Another petition⁴ of equally tantalizing and indefinite educational import informs us that Francisco Barrera has been a school-

¹*Ayuntamiento vs. Don Vicente Amador, First Alcalde*, for absence from the province without leave, January 20, 1792.

²Article 15 of Proclamation of Juan Bautista Elgue-zabal, January 10, 1802. Bexar Archives.

³Act of 'cabildo, January 20, 1803. Bexar Archives.

⁴March 24, 1809. Bexar Archives.

master in the villa of San Fernando, and (possibly for this reason) finds himself unable to support his family. He asks for a license to engage in public writing, and after five or six persons have been examined, in order to ascertain his character, his request is granted. School-teaching certainly did not seem to pay in San Fernando, although at times the residents of the community seemed to recognize the importance of having a few men of some educational ability in their midst.

The next important educational effort occurred during the revolutionary days of 1811. On January 22 of that year Juan Bautista Casas overthrew the regular government and proclaimed one favorable to the Mexican revolutionists. His actions while in power caused many to become disgusted with him, so the curate, Juan Manuel Zambrano,¹ organized a counter-revolution and overthrew him, March 1, 1811. Then Zambrano with a junta of eleven members, was selected by the principal inhabitants of San Fernando to administer the affairs of government and restore the royal authority.² It was this junta that took measures to organize more thoroughly the school system of San Antonio by providing for the building of a school-house. Possibly Zambrano may have wished to impress the people with the desirability of continuing longer under the monarchical rule of Spain; or it may be that some of Hidalgo's emissaries, who fell into the hands of the counter-revolutionists, had carried considerable treasure with them, and the junta had considered this as the most profitable way of spending it. At any rate, 855 *pesos* were handed over to Don Bicente Travieso to be expended in the erection of a suitable building to serve as a school-house. In August, 1812, he was ready to submit his account, with its accompanying vouchers, showing the expenditure of 843 *pesos* and five *reales*. The accounts were formally passed upon by

¹Juan Manuel Zambrano had been banished from the province of Texas in 1807 upon petition of citizens and municipal officers alike for conduct unworthy of a priest. After his successful counter-revolution he was made a lieutenant colonel of the militia. In 1818 he was in command of the post of Bahia, but was later deprived of his office. Subsequently he appears as one of the *escrutadores* in an electoral junta of 1820. Evidently his career was full of vicissitudes.

²Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, II 17, 18.

the auditing committee and pronounced correct.¹ Everything, to judge from the document, seemed to be in due form, and it looked as if one might expect for the future a fairly well appointed school-house, filled with happy children, whose progress would be fondly watched by admiring parents.

Unfortunately for the reputation of Don Bicente Travieso and those connected with him in this little "job," there exists an inventory of the belongings of the school, taken just about a month before Travieso passed in his accounts. In this inventory mention is made of only a small portion of the articles that he claimed to have furnished. It evidently refers to the same building, for the description tallies perfectly, and Don Bicente is even mentioned by name, in the inventory, as having furnished three benches. The condition of the building was also deplorable. Doors and windows were without locks, and locks without keys; while even the water-barrel had a loosened hoop, which article was duly reported as one of the important items of the inventory.² Evidently the temptation to plunder the public was too strong for these worthy officials of old San Fernando.

In the above inventory mention is made of a bench obtained from the previous school, so there had evidently been some sort of an educational organization, with its building, since the days of Governor Elguezabal.³ Of course this building could have been the residence of the school-master. An undated manuscript of the Bexar Archives, evidently of this period, bids parents send their children, under twelve years of age, to the public school, as soon as it is completed. Meanwhile they are to give them the best possible instruction at home. One wonders what this might have meant, in those days and in San Fernando.

As the new school-building approached completion, José Erasmo Seguin and José Antonio Saucedo reported a code of rules for its government. There should be places for seventy pupils, of which

¹Account submitted by Don Bicente Travieso, August 10, 1812. Bexar Archives.

²Inventory and conveyance of school-house and furniture made by Ygnacio de los Santos Coy to José Ygnacio Sanchez Castellano, July 3, 1812. Bexar Archives. See Appendix A, Part I.

³See Appendix A, Part II.

five should be free and at the disposal of the master, to be given to worthy persons of good disposition. The seventy places were to be divided into two classes, according to ability to pay; the first class paying a *peso*, and the second four *reales* each month. A pupil might be advanced in his studies, but the method of his payment was not to be altered. The teacher was to receive a salary of thirty *pesos* a month. One of the *alcaldes*, with the aid of the four ward commissioners, was to have charge of the collecting of the fund and to keep a sufficient amount on hand to be a month ahead in the payment of the teacher's salary. One of the *regidores* was to visit the school at least once a day to note the infringements of the rules and to apply the appropriate remedy. All books, paper, extra seats, etc., were to be furnished by those needing them.¹

The above rules suggest a beginning in the matter of public free education, although a very modest one. The salary of the teacher was not to be munificent, but it is to be doubted if the miserable village could pay, with any regularity, even this little stipend. If the *alcalde* and *regidor* carried out their duties conscientiously, they certainly had their hands full; but we have already seen how easy it was for the municipal authorities of San Fernando to make a creditable appearance on paper, while falling far short of it in execution. But, however bright the educational prospects of San Fernando might appear for the moment, they were destined to be speedily eclipsed by the dark days of the Magee-Gutierrez raid of 1813.

The next educational effort of note dates from February 15, 1815. At the meeting of the *cabildo* on that date, its members considered very earnestly the urgent need in their community of a teacher to instruct the youth in the "rudiments of Our Holy Religion and the Primary Branches (*Primeras Letras*).² For a long time they had felt this lack, but the fact that the unhappy community was wholly without means sufficient for the support of a teacher, utterly precluded them from making the provision that the lack demanded. Among the possible solutions of this problem was that all of those able should help to make a common contribution

¹Report of June 10, 1812. Bexar Archives. See Appendix B. San Antonio had been divided into four wards (*barrios*) in 1809; hence the use of the term ward commissioners (*comisarios de barrio*).

of five hundred *pesos*, to pay the annual salary of a teacher. This suggestion seemed to present little difficulty; for they appeared to believe that the money would be contributed with great pleasure, in order that the children might not lack so useful and profitable a thing as an educational establishment.

For the accomplishment of this purpose they needed the approval of the governor, and the latter was requested also to ask the commanding general to assign for the use of the school the house of one of the insurgents of the recent invasion; since neither the *cabildo* nor the community could raise the two thousand *pesos* necessary for such a structure.¹

The last request again brings to mind the "job" in connection with the construction of a school-house by Bicente Travieso, for why should a school-house be lacking, if built three years before, unless destroyed by some special calamity. If the latter had been the case some mention would surely have been made of the fact. In reading further in the records for that year, one learns that the province was in such a deplorable state, owing to Indian depredations, that there was remote prospect, indeed, of raising even the modest salary for the teacher. While the soldiers of the garrison were without meat for the body, it was not at all likely that the children's intellectual needs would receive attention.

Two years later the same matter was again brought up in the *cabildo*. The parents of children were to be solicited to contribute graciously, in order to pay promptly the teacher's salary.² We have a list of the contributors from the south ward in 1819.³ The total money contributed was fifty-five *pesos*, four *reales*, and a *fanega* (about two bushels) of Indian corn. Let us hope, for the sake of the teacher, that the other three wards contributed more liberally. But even if they did, it is not at all likely that the whole contribution amounted to the five hundred *pesos*, which, in 1815, they talked so lightly of raising.

¹Act of *cabildo*, February 23, 1815. MS. in city clerk's office, San Antonio. In a later letter the commanding general assigns for the use of the *ayuntamiento* the house formerly belonging to the "traitor Vizente Travieso." Evidently Travieso belonged to the wrong party in the revolutionary days of 1813, despite his vigorous "pull" of the previous year.

²Act of *cabildo*, January 9, 1817. MS. in city clerk's office, San Antonio.

³In the Bexar Archives.

At a later meeting in 1817, they were informed by the teacher that some parents still persisted in the old abuse of taking their children from the school, without any motive, while others had entirely forgotten to comply with the order to send them. After mature deliberation, the village fathers decided that parents without any excuse should send their children to school, under penalty of suffering a fine of three *pesos*, and whatever punishment in addition should be esteemed just. The governor could make what disposition he pleased with reference to the children of soldiers.¹

Three years later and in the year following were made the final efforts under the old *régime*. The *cabildo* again took into consideration "the establishment of a school for the instruction of the children." Don Ygnacio Villa Señor was appointed a commissioner, to look after "the good order and management of the school." Don Ygnacio had complete authority from the governor and from the *ayuntamiento* (or *cabildo*) to enable him to bestow rewards or to punish those who failed in their duty to the school-master, in his teaching of the children. He had the same control over the parents with regard to the payment of tuition fees, and he was to notify them that on the last day of the coming month they must pay to their ward commissioner their school fees, according to their respective salaries.²

At the meeting held on the twenty-second of the following February the four members of the *cabildo* then present, resolved to request Governor Martinez to issue a proclamation requiring parents to keep their children within doors until a school should be established to give them the necessary education. In this manner they might prevent the gatherings which certain youths were accustomed to hold at night on the streets and plazas, and also keep them from balls and other spectacles improper for childhood. Two weeks later, as they thought that the youth of the city, through parental carelessness, were still given too much liberty to roam the streets, they received with favor the proposition of a citizen to establish a school at the expense of these same negligent parents. They were very willing to grant the request of the petitioner, for

¹Act of *cabildo*, April 10, 1817. MS. in city clerk's office, San Antonio.

²Acts of *cabildo*, February 10 and May 25, 1820. MSS. in city clerk's office in San Antonio.

they knew of no one else capable of teaching the children of the community, and if they had known such a one they would have had no funds to expend for the purpose. Each of the *regidores* agreed also to take a certain number of the streets of the city and to visit the families of those living upon them in order to compel the parents to send their children to school and to pay the expenses of their tuition.¹ This act of the *cabildo* certainly seems definite enough in character to be productive of some results, but we meet in the minutes of the *cabildo* with no further mention of schools previous to the adoption of the Plan of Iguala.

The above references, scattered through a period of some thirty odd years, will serve to give an idea of the efforts put forth, in an educational way, in the villa, or, after 1809, the "city" of San Fernando. Of course these efforts are pitifully weak in results, yet we must not judge the citizens of this frontier town of New Spain harshly, before we consider the educational status of our own frontier towns, on the eve of our independence from Great Britain. After a careful comparative view, we shall find ourselves more ready to render due credit for their efforts to clear the ground for the later educational structure of Texas.

II.

EDUCATION UNDER MEXICAN RULE.

The year 1821 beheld the achievement of Mexican independence from Spain, but in the confusion of the next few years there occurred almost nothing of interest in Texas, from an educational standpoint. While there was taking place in Mexico the swift changes from colonial dependency to independent monarchy, and later to constitutional republicanism, the wonder is that a government of any sort continued to exist in the distant province of Texas. Naturally, during this period we learn of no new efforts in behalf of public education. The situation excites comment, however, among those who regret the intellectual barrenness of the time. From one report we learn that "owing to the vicissitudes of the time and the critical condition of this province, this city, the

¹Acts of *cabildo* for February 22 and March 8, 1821. Bexar Archives.

capital, wholly lacks funds for the education of the youth, as well as for erecting edifices of public utility and adornment."¹

Three years later a more lengthy comment adds that the city is entirely without provision for public primary schools. The *ayuntamientos*, under the previous *régime*, had now and then promoted the establishment of schools, but had displayed little or no energy in keeping them up. This fact has already been sufficiently illustrated from the testimony of the records. The salaries of teachers had remained unpaid, in default of funds; while their work was still further hampered by the failure of the parents to support them in the matter of discipline, or to cease the withdrawal of their children from school. Such was the miserable condition of the city that it was doubtful if the citizens could pay the expenses of a teacher from Mexico—and they had none in their own midst—or if they could prevail upon a teacher to stay in such a decadent community.²

The real progress of a country, in the condition of Mexico at the consummation of her independence, depends largely upon the unselfish and prudent foresight of its leaders. It will be interesting to note the presence or absence of that quality with regard to the question of education, in those who controlled the destinies of the dual State of Coahuila and Texas. The constitution of the State, ratified March 11, 1827, required that the method of instruction should be uniform throughout the State, and that to facilitate this, congress should form a general plan for public instruction.³ There was to be a system of education, then, but this system must be formed upon an approved plan. What this plan was to be appeared in a later decree of the constitutional congress.⁴

According to this decree schools upon the Lancasterian plan were to be established in the capital of each of the three departments of the State. Qualified teachers, employed for three years, should be placed in charge of these establishments, at a salary of \$800 per year, payable monthly in advance. The number of pupils in each school was limited to 150, but if more attended, the teacher might

¹Report from *Sala Capitular* of San Fernando, 1822. Bexar Archives.

²Saucedo to the governor of the State, 1825. Bexar Archives.

³Article 277.

⁴Decree No. 92, May 13, 1829. Gammel, *Laws of Texas*, I 237-240.

request a proportionate increase of salary from the State authorities. The three teachers together were to form for the schools a set of regulations which, when approved by the executive, should be published. The course of instruction should consist of reading, writing, arithmetic, the dogma of the Catholic religion, and all of Ackerman's "Catechisms of Arts and Sciences."

Each *ayuntamiento* was required to ascertain what children could not attend, through lack of means, and from this number to select from one to five by lot, to be sent to school at the expense of that body. If there was no fund for this purpose, they should send at least one pupil by private subscription. The children of those citizens of the department of Texas who contributed towards establishing the existing school fund of San Fernando should be admitted free, provided their parents continued to pay their agreed quota. All citizens who could afford it should be obliged to send their children to these establishments, and due penalties could be inflicted on those who were obstinate in this particular.

The *ayuntamiento* of the capital of each department was to take charge of the school fund, of which it should appoint the keeper. This fund should be made up of the existing school funds of the capital towns, all legacies for school purposes, all quotas assigned from the branches of municipal revenue, and the product of the pay pupils in each school. The parents of the latter should pay fourteen dollars per annum for each pupil, until he learned to write, when the pay should be eighteen dollars. The *ayuntamiento* was to be punctual in the collection of these sums and exact in keeping account of them. The proceeds of the fund were to be devoted to the payment of the teacher's salary, rent for building, and the making and repairing of the necessary furniture. The amount of money paid out must be accompanied by the receipts of the teacher, duly authenticated by the *sindico-procurador* and accompanied by an order from the *alcalde*. If the school fund was temporarily exhausted, the municipality could assist from its funds; if these also were exhausted, requisition might be made on the state agents. In either case, the money so advanced must be replaced as soon as possible. Each pupil, on leaving the school, was to pay to the *ayuntamiento* ten dollars, to be known as gratitude money, with which a special fund was to be created to be used to reward the teacher at the close of his contract. A formal account of these

funds was to be rendered at the end of each fiscal year. In order to put this law into effect as soon as possible the executive was empowered to use two thousand dollars from the State revenues, for the purchase of the furniture, books, etc., necessary to carry out its provisions.

In view of the limited educational exhibit so far made, the above law seems very comprehensive, indeed. The sympathies and aims of the authorities all appear to have been in the right direction, but in means for the accomplishment of the same, they were wholly deficient. Hardly a single provision of the above law was ever carried out as originally planned.

The following year an attempt was made to put into force a modification of the above plan. Until the Lancasterian schools could be established, six primary schools were to be set up in the three departments of the State, in places where they were most needed. The teachers were to receive an annual salary of five hundred *pesos*, while the gratitude money of the pupils was to be reduced to six *pesos*. The *ayuntamientos* were to perform the duties prescribed by the other decree. Yearly samples of the work of the pupils were to be sent to the executive, to be reported to congress.¹

The regulations of the new decree were carried out no better than those of the former, but that did not deter the State congress from passing additional laws upon the same subject. By the terms of a new decree the executive was ordered to make three silver medals, to be paid for out of municipal or State funds, and these were to be worn by pupils on the days of public visits to the schools, as "rewards of virtue and application." The *ayuntamientos* should distribute these tokens in the schools under their direction, in accordance with the judgment of the teacher. The executive was also to obtain from the funds of the State a sufficient number of Fleuris's *Castilian Grammar, Orthography, and Catechism*, to be distributed among the pupils, also as rewards of "virtue and application."² If any of the above rewards ever reached San Fernando de Bexar, the records do not now indicate the fact. The above laws are interesting, however, in that they reveal the ideas of the State

¹Decree No. 129, April 13, 1830. Gammel, *Laws of Texas*, I 258.

²Decree No. 144, April 30, 1830. Gammel, *Laws of Texas*, I 157.

officials concerning the best form of education. Very likely the Lancasterian system would have been the best adapted to their use, in order to reach the greatest number of pupils with the least outlay of money, but as a matter of fact, the State had no public money whatever to be used for schools, and never did have while the union of Texas with Coahuila lasted. The churchly element, too, still continued to constitute the greater portion of an all-round Mexican education. Aside from this, only the merest smattering of learning could be attempted. This was all that could be expected, at that time, for each community must begin almost from the very bottom in erecting its public school system. The native love of display was also to be strongly encouraged by suitable rewards for "virtue and application." It is such a system as we should imagine an oppressed people, just entering into a state of freedom, would adopt; and especially when they had a very hazy idea of the responsibilities connected with this same freedom. The authorities seemed to feel the need of some system of education, but they were unable to hit upon the right way for obtaining it. However, they should be given credit for the desire, if not for its fulfillment.

Three years later the State congress inaugurated a policy that promised more definite results. The various municipalities were to sell the public property within their limits. In all the capital towns of departments, where the funds were sufficient, primary schools should be established. In addition to the subjects already mentioned instruction should be given in the elements of geography, morals, politics, and good breeding. The *ayuntamientos* were to designate buildings, as large as could be found, for the purposes of instruction and for the residence of the teacher. Schools were to be established in other towns as soon as possible, and in the most practicable manner. In addition to the private revenue belonging to the schools, one-half of the annual product of the municipal funds should be devoted to educational purposes, until the amount of the annual school fund should reach two thousand dollars. All vacant property was to revert to the State and was to be used for the schools. In all department and district capitals "juntas of public education" should be organized, consisting of the president of the *ayuntamiento*, the parish curate, and one other, appointed by the State executive. This junta was to have charge of funds, look after the attendance of pupils, employ qualified

teachers and inspect their work, assist the indigent and collect from the well-to-do, and in general to do everything to make the school system efficient. If the members did not perform their duties in a proper manner, any citizen might lodge a complaint against them.¹

The above decree seems a step in the proper direction—that of allowing each community to attend to the matter of education within its own limits, and to provide funds for this purpose by allowing it the proceeds of the sales of the public land in its midst. It was with these two principles as the foundation that the present school system of our city has grown to such splendid proportions. A later decree² provided that the proceeds of the sale of the “commons” belonging to the city of San Fernando de Bexar should be reserved as a perpetual fund to be used exclusively for the payment of teachers of primary schools. Lest all here stated may seem ancient history, it may be well to note that this law was recently cited in the suit brought by the school board of San Antonio for the recovery of some land claimed by the Galveston, Harrisburg, & San Antonio Railroad. Yet, notwithstanding these new measures, the governor had to report, at the beginning of 1834, as he had done the previous year, that public instruction remained in the same condition as before. In his message of that year he expresses the wish that the parents of the State be aroused to the importance of educating their children, “in order to banish the chaos of ignorance in which the greater part of the communities lie.”³

From the above references we may gain a pretty fair idea of the ambitious plans and tardy measures of execution adopted by the State authorities of Coahuila and Texas—plans soon to come to naught, so far as the greater part of the State was concerned, by the success of the Texas Revolution. Thus all of the projects of the central authorities were of no effect. It remains to be seen if those of the municipality of San Fernando, in a more restricted field of operations were doomed to a like failure. We have the copy of a letter, dated January 31, 1826, from José Antonio Sancedo, the political chief of the Department of Texas, to Rafael Gon-

¹Decree No. 229, April 27, 1833. Gammel, *Laws of Texas*, I 323-327.

²No. 244, May 8, 1833. Gammel, *Laws of Texas*, I 36.

³Messages of governor to congress, 1833 and 1834. Bexar Archives.

zales the governor of the State of Coahuila and Texas, in which he reports the fact that a school was established in the city of San Fernando on the fifteenth of that month. The school had been established, that is, so far as funds for the payment of a teacher were concerned. These had been raised by private subscription. But a building, to serve as a school-house was still lacking, and this lack Saucedo wished the protecting hand of the "Honorable Assembly" (the State congress) to supply. He thought that San Fernando, as a community, merited this gift, which it could not, owing to a scarcity of ready money, procure for itself, and he promised his best efforts to see that it was prudently used. With his letter he sent an estimate of the cost of the desired building which amounted to 746 *pesos*, 5 *reales*. The congress, however, did not grant the desired aid, for there was not sufficient assurance that the school work would be continued.¹ Before the promulgation of the State constitution we have the record of a patriotic junta, held May 26, 1826, to provide for the establishment of a public school. There is a later reference to this² showing that contributions had been pledged on that occasion, but the amount is not reported. The next year, after the promulgation of the constitution, the sixteenth of September was celebrated in a most practical and helpful way by the installation of another patriotic junta, which later turned over to the school fund, the sum of 323 *pesos*, 6 *reales*.³

As the school fund is the most important part of the whole system, it may be well first to trace that of San Fernando de Bexar during the seven years (1828 to 1834, inclusive), of which we have record. Besides the amount given above from the patriotic *junta*, there was contributed during the year 310 *pesos* by individual citizens, of whom the three largest contributors gave 20 *pesos* each. The captain of the presidial company surpassed them all by subscribing 25 *pesos* ("only for this time," however). The smallest contributors gave only 4 *reales* each, and there were six of these. The total number of contributors was 74, including the two pueblos

¹*Expediente, etc., for the construction of an edifice for a primary school, January 31, 1826. Bexar Archives.*

²*Minutes of ayuntamiento, May 27, 1830. City clerk's office, San Antonio.*

³*Report of school fund, 1828-34. Bexar Archives.*

of Mission San Juan and Mission Espada. In addition to the cash contribution there was a note for 100 *pesos*, given by the company of Bexar, and one for 75 *pesos*, by the company of the Alamo. Besides this, the proceeds from fees for the slaughter of animals for 1827 and 1828 contributed enough to raise the total receipts of the fund for 1828 to 1060 *pesos* and 6 *granos*. The fund was to continue to be made up principally from direct contributions and the fees paid for the killing of animals. The disbursements for the year 1828 comprised simply the teacher's salary of 500 *pesos*.

For the year 1829, the direct contributions dropped down to 91 *pesos*. Evidently the members of the "*Patriotic Junta*" were losing some of their enthusiasm. Other branches of revenue also fell off, so that the actual cash balance, at the end of the year, was only 76 *pesos* and 6½ *reales*, although there were notes for 315 *pesos* and an unpaid account of 15 *pesos*, 2 *reales*. Of the subscription for 1828, 76 *pesos*, 4 *reales* remained unpaid. In the month of October the authorities had been obliged to let their five-hundred-dollar teacher go, and take one who would serve for 22 *pesos* a month. During the early part of the following year there was some trouble with the former keeper of the school fund, Captain Alejandro Treviño. He did not transfer his account to the keeper *ad interim* until the 27th of May, although he should have done so on January 1st, and before that time he reported that, in a case of emergency, he had used some 50 *pesos* of the fund for giving presents to the Indians. As a military man, possibly this necessity appealed more strongly to him than that of educating the children. At first Captain Treviño claimed that he could not be deprived of his office as keeper of the fund, because he had been appointed by the "*Patriotic Junta*." Finally he turned over what he had on hand. The regular keeper was absent a considerable part of the time, so the fund often changed hands that year. There were many necessary repairs, and the twenty-two-dollar man stepped out and a six-dollar one took his place. This man, however, was only an assistant (*ayudante*); the real master was then serving without pay. At the end of the year the cash on hand amounted to some 39 *pesos*, with the same amount in notes as before. Evidently these notes had been given by the two garrison companies in an outburst of patriotic enthusiasm that rapidly cooled. By the end of 1834 these two companies had paid only 99 *pesos* on their four notes.

During 1831 there was collected by voluntary subscription 59 *pesos*, 7 *reales*, and from slaughter fees (*producto de la carne*) some 162 *pesos*. The expenses that year were 135 *pesos*, the salary of the assistant for nine months, and five month's salary for a new teacher at 25 *pesos* a month. Other expenses for repairs left the fund with 30 *pesos*, 6 *reales* in cash. The notes by this time amounted to 270 *pesos*. For 1832 there are some new items among the receipts, such as a voluntary contribution of 100 *pesos*, donated by Doña Gertrudis Perez, through her husband, José Casiano, and a loan of 50 *pesos* to the school fund from another branch of the municipal revenue. Contributions for that year added to the fund 90 *pesos*, 5 *reales*. From it were paid salaries to the extent of 435 *pesos* and expense of repairs, 13 *pesos*, 4 *reales*, leaving a balance of 296 *pesos*, 5 *reales*, of which only about 80 *pesos* were in cash. By the end of 1833 this cash balance amounted to 9 *pesos* only, although but 250 *pesos* had been paid out for salaries. Resort had again been had to borrowing from another fund, to eke out even this smaller sum. In 1834 only 144 *pesos* were paid to the assistant, but again it was necessary to borrow. At the close of that year the account of the school fund terminates, but receipts given by Bruno Huizar, as teacher, show that he was paid as late as January 31, 1835.¹

The "*Ordinance for the Primary School of this City*" (San Fernando de Bexar)² deserves more than the passing notice permitted by the limits of this article. At the very beginning the religious foundation of the school system is marked by selecting the Child Jesus as the patron saint of the establishment and dedicating the twenty-fifth of December to a special celebration in his honor. Each year the teacher was to invite the parents of the pupils to contribute to the expenses of this occasion. The pupils were to address each other as "Citizen So-and-so," reserving "*Señor*" for the teacher and other elders. The two vacations of each year were

¹The above facts are gleaned from the accounts of the school fund from 1828-1834, inclusive, contained in the Bexar Archives, supplemented by occasional references to the minutes of the *ayuntamiento* during the years 1830-32, and to receipts for salary given by the teachers.

²Drawn up by Juan de Beramendi, Refugio de la Garza, the parish curate, and José Maria Balmeceña, March 13, 1826. MSS. Bexar Archives. See Appendix C.

to extend respectively from December 23 to January 1, and from the Wednesday of Holy Week to Easter Saturday. On festival days "of only one cross" school should be held as usual. Until the creation of a special fund, pupils should furnish their own books, paper, pens, etc.

The course of study was to include "reading from book and from manuscript, writing, accounting in the first five and principal rules, of arithmetic, "some knowledge of the grammar of the language, of the doctrine of our Holy Religion from the catechism of Father Ripalda, and the principles of good moral and political behavior and of the remaining social virtues." For his services in teaching these branches the school-master was to receive 500 *pesos*, but could accept no fees in addition from the pupils. Public "disputations" were to be held every four months. Some members of the *ayuntamiento* were to visit the school each week, and for their first visit the teacher must have his list of pupils ready for inspection.

The length of the daily sessions would have been terrifying alike to modern pupil and teacher. In the summer—from April to October—they extended from six to eleven in the morning, and from two to six in the afternoon. During the winter the morning session extended from seven until twelve, but the afternoon session was unchanged. The school was to be opened and closed with prayer. A recess of a half hour was to be granted at 9 a. m. for the purpose of taking breakfast (*almorzar*). Three questions on Christian doctrine were to form the memory lesson for the morning, and as many more for the afternoon. The last hour of each session was to be devoted to hearing lessons and correcting work. On the last Saturday of each month the two lower divisions of pupils were to have a sort of contest among themselves in their written work and in reading. The other Saturday afternoons the first and second departments were to employ in a very short memory lesson in Spanish grammar, while the third department should review the questions of Christian doctrine learned during the week.

The most peculiar thing in the whole system, from our standpoint, but doubtless one of the distinguishing methods of a Lancasterian school, was the division of the student body into two general parties, "the Romans and the Carthaginians," each having a president, six captains, and six corporals. The presidents were required to know how to write well; to know the first four rules of

accounting, two-thirds of the catechism, and the same portion of Spanish grammar and of the constitution of the country. The captains must present half of these qualifications; the corporals, a third part. The two parties were each divided into three classes: the first comprising the captains and corporals; the second, those who were already writing and who were under the immediate orders of the captains; the third, those who were simply reading, who were in charge of the corporals. An equal number of pupils was assigned to each officer. Sky blue was to be the color of the Roman party, and crimson that of their opponents. Each officer was to have his rank appropriately designated, and the presidents, on public occasions, should carry a cane. Doubtless where only one teacher could be provided for 150 pupils, some such system of student espionage and display was necessary, but to us it seems ridiculous.

The duties of the teacher by no means ended with the regular school hours. He must look after and admonish his pupils regarding their language, public conduct, and deportment toward their elders. On the Fridays and Sundays of Lent he must conduct the children in a body to the church. On all Sundays and festal days the children must assemble at school an hour before the principal mass, in order to attend that function in a body. These occasions doubtless would afford a fine opportunity for display on the part of the student officers.

The chapter on punishments includes such penalties as shutting up the culprits in the school-house or keeping them in it under arrest during holy days, employing them in sweeping, for a week at a time only, giving them the dunce's seat (*el asiento del aprovio*), shutting them up in a room called the ware-house (*almacen*) during the day time, flogging for robbery of any sort, and the imposition of a like penalty upon those who, from failure in lessons or in writing, have to return to the dunce's seat within a week. The teacher was to attend to the application of these punishments with all the harmony and equity that the occasion demanded. Some of these rules make interesting reading, and are doubly so, owing to the fact that they are still in force in Mexican schools. The above system of rules was submitted to the teacher, who agreed to enforce it, and afterwards it was accepted by the *ayuntamiento*.

It may be well to mention the names of the teachers who were to put into force this elaborate system. The pedagogue whose

acceptance is noted above, was José Antonio Gama y Fonseca, who contracted himself to serve four years from January 1, 1828, at the promised salary of 500 *pesos* per annum. He served until the ninth of October, 1829. He was succeeded by Victoriano Zepeda, who served for a monthly stipend of 22 *pesos*, until January 31, 1830, when he begged to be excused to accept other employment bringing him in greater returns. A committee, appointed by the *ayuntamiento*, then tried to secure the services of Domingo Bustillos, but he wished 25 *pesos* a month, so they could come to no agreement with him. At this juncture Francisco Rojo offered to fulfill the duties of the position without pay as long as he should remain in the community. The *ayuntamiento* accepted with heartfelt thanks this unselfishly patriotic offer, without, however, binding themselves not to give him some remuneration for his services. Señor Rojo probably estimated this proviso at its true value. The assistant, Bruno Huizar, received the only salary paid for the time being, and this amounted to six *pesos* a month. Upon representation of the preceptor Rojo, this was increased, in July, to eleven *pesos*, two *reales*. By the end of the year this was again raised, this time to fifteen *pesos* a month. He had previously asked permission to act as sacristan of the parish church, but the *ayuntamiento* preferred to raise his salary and retain him wholly in the service of the school. It is not at all strange, with such salaries for teachers, that the visiting committee from the *ayuntamiento* should report, in May, that they found a very small number of pupils in the schools. The teachers evidently did not wish to work any harder than necessary for their meagre pay.

By January, 1831, the *ayuntamiento* was again under the necessity of looking for a new school-master. Señor Rojo had evidently tired of his unselfish labors, or had taken his departure from the community. The committee appointed to consider the matter reported that they had advertised for a teacher, offering as a salary the endowment of 500 *pesos* promised by the State;¹ but that to this offer they had received no response, for prospective pedagogues evidently did not fully trust the ability of the State to pay. The committee favored making an application to their representatives in congress, to select for them a teacher in Saltillo from among the number that presented themselves in that city. By the following

¹Decree No. 129, April 13, 1830. See above, p. 38.

July a suitable candidate appeared in their midst, offered himself, and was accepted at the salary of 25 *pesos* a month. Juan Francisco Buchetti, the new preceptor, agreed to serve two years for that pay, commencing in August, 1831. He served the rest of the year, all of 1832, and three months of 1833, when he resigned his position to the faithful assistant, Bruno Huizar, who, like Tennyson's brook, seemed destined to go on forever in his place, while head masters continued to come and go.

In his petition to the *ayuntamiento* to be released from serving the remaining four months stipulated in his contract, Buchetti alleged that he had to depart from the city in order to engage in other employment. The members of the *ayuntamiento* agreed, "with extraordinary unanimity," to grant his request, especially in view of the fact that for a year he had been extremely tardy in fulfilling his duties and had been guilty of such serious irregularities of conduct as "drunkenness and a scandalous mode of living with his new wife." Perhaps the latter relation may account for the unhappy pedagogue's downfall; for, if we may judge from the *ayuntamiento* records, he had been unusually active during the earlier portion of his service.

Huizar continued to act as sole master during the remainder of 1833. For the year 1834 we have the record of 144 *pesos* paid to the preceptor of the school, who is none other than the faithful Bruno. The salary paid later, eighteen dollars a month, seems just about adapted to him, and it remains unchanged as late as the succeeding January, when our records fail.¹

A vigorous teacher could find much to occupy his spare time, if such he had, after the prescribed hours of service. All improvements and repairs in the school-building must come as a result of his personal intervention in the meetings of the *ayuntamiento*. He must also take charge of any functions in which the school participated. Buchetti was active in urging improvements, and the mention of the "*maestro*" in the minutes of the *ayuntamiento* is especially frequent during his incumbency. He often appeared before that body to report cases of insubordination and ask for special power to deal with the same; or to complain of the poor furniture and petition for new, or to present the bill for articles made or purchased at his suggestion. In fact, the minutest details of school

¹Report of school fund and minutes of *ayuntamiento*.

management seemed none too trivial for the consideration of the "Illustrious *Ayuntamiento*"; and the mark of a good teacher seemed to be to give that body plenty of material for action.

The matter of raising the money for a special celebration, such as that of the twenty-fifth of December, was also in the hands of the teacher; and, from what we know of money-raising in San Fernando, this was far from being an easy task. The *ayuntamiento* had also permitted Buchetti to cultivate the public lots of the house of the *ayuntamiento* during his continuance in office; possibly after attending to his many executive duties, he might feel the need of outdoor exercise, although one must wonder where he could find the time for it. His successor, Huizar, evidently had his hands full, inasmuch as he petitioned the *ayuntamiento* to use its good offices to have him released from militia service. Very likely he lacked other things than time, but he may well have thought that nine hours a day in the school-room, at the munificent salary of eighteen dollars a month, was all the service in behalf of "God and Liberty" that could reasonably be asked of him.

For the greater portion of the time one of the members of the *ayuntamiento* had charge of the school fund, the ultimate control always resting with that body. Angel Navarro, the third *regidor*, for two years served in this capacity. Usually the keeper of the fund, in company with another member, served as the committee for visiting the schools, supposedly once a week. Two visits only are mentioned during the two years of Buchetti's incumbency, so it must have been that this regulation was more honored in the breach than in the observance. All elections of teachers, increase of salaries, in fact, everything in connection with the school had to come before the *ayuntamiento*. It was also the function of this body, acting through the *alcaldes* or keeper of the school fund (*depositario*), to stir up individual contributors to pay their quotas. Of these delinquents the teacher usually furnished the list, and either he or his assistant often helped in collecting from them. In many matters concerning the public schools the parish curate acted with the committee of visitors, either *ex officio* or by special appointment, as was the case in formulating the code of rules.

With a system involving such elaborate details, evidently planned for external effect, if not for permanent results, what was the net result upon the community at large? We can not measure this with any degree of accuracy, but it is possible to note the fact that

every teacher of this period complained of the non-attendance of pupils and gave to the *ayuntamiento* long lists of parents who were remiss in sending their children or in paying the voluntary subscriptions they had pledged. These contributions were to be paid in three equal installments during the year, but there seems to have been no regularity displayed in complying with this rule. Mention has already been made of the most important individual gift—that of Doña Gertrudis Perez. Another of moment was that of twenty-seven copies of a life of Saint Peter, to be used as rewards for the pupils. After careful inspection by the curate and a special committee to determine if the work was of suitable character, these were accepted with thanks. It is unfortunate that the name of the donor of this latter gift comes down to us in the records simply as “George Nixon’s clerk.” After taking up so much space in the discussion of his gift, it certainly seems that the *ayuntamiento* might have thought his name worthy of mention.

Only during the two visits to the school made while Buchetti was master, did the inspection committee find the work progressing with any degree of satisfaction. At all other times they spoke regretfully of the few pupils in attendance and the many children running loose in the streets. Threatened pains and penalties did not seem to terrify the indifferent parents.¹ According to the statistical report for the year 1832, there were in the city of San Fernando de Bexar 297 boys and young men and 334 girls and young women between the ages of seven and twenty-five. For the following year these numbers were 296 and 334, respectively.² For the former year Buchetti reports an enrollment of 100 and for the latter, Huizar reports 60. Further comment upon these figures is unnecessary. In his report on Texas in 1834, Almonte remarks concerning schools:

“In Bexar there exists one supported by that *ayuntamiento*; but, as it appears, its funds have become so reduced that not even this useful establishment has been able to survive. What will be the lot of those unfortunate Mexicans who live in the midst of barbarians, without hope of civilization?”³

¹Report and minutes as above, *passim*.

²Messages of governor of State for 1833 and 1834. Bexar Archives.

³Report of Almonte in *Documentos Para la Historia de Mexico*, 4th Series, V 40. Biblioteca Nacional, Mexico. This report was published in 1835.

It was not given to Colonel Almonte to read the future, so he could not know his despairing question anent the results of efforts toward education in San Fernando was to receive its answer in the rifle shots that rang from the Alamo and on the battlefield of San Jacinto. Had he understood the significance of those historic events, he might have recognized the fact that the Anglo-American was to accomplish what the Spanish-American had only attempted, and that in the hands of the former the lot of the Mexicans domiciled on this side of the Rio Grande, was, educationally, to be infinitely brighter than it had been thus far.

APPENDIX A.

Part I.

Inventory and conveyance of the school-house and of the furniture in it, made by Don Ygnacio de los Santos Coy, to his successor, D. José Ygnacio Sanchez Castellano,¹ in the following form:

First, a hall with platform, with two doors and one window; the key of one door being serviceable, and the other broken, and the window without any lock.

A room adjoining the hall, with its interior door without lock, and one small window, with bars only.

A wooden cross.

Four tables, one of them smaller than the others.

Four benches, one of these from the previous school, and the three remaining of those which D. Vizente Travieso made.

Two rulers, one of them with two measures lacking from each side, and the other with three lacking.

A barrel for carrying water, with five iron hoops.

A hoop loosened from the above barrel.

A wooden gutter.

A rawhide rope.

A trough of rough wood.

Thirteen A B C lists, the greater part of them interleaved.

NOTE.—In addition to the above, there exists, in process of repair, in possession of D. Manuel Yudo, a table of this school;

¹This document and those under Appendices B and C are translated from the original MSS. in the Bexar Archives.

and having nothing else to convey or receive, we sign this in this city of San Fernando de Bexar on the third of July, 1812.

	Received
Ygno. de los Santos Coy.	José Ygnacio Sanchez
	Castellaño.

Part II.

Note of what is in the school,¹ towit:

4 Copy books.

One lead Inkstand with a Sandbox of the same [metal].

One Ruler.

One Print of St. Joseph.

One Cross.

One Table.

One Cube with its *Chaqual* and all the primers and drawings of the children.

Note.

Missed: One Pencil.

One old book of Lives of Saints.

One book of daily exercise.

2 Primers.

• This, February 1st, 1809.

FERNANDO DE SANTIAGO.

APPENDIX B.

School.

Having determined whether there be a worthy person to take charge of it, who meanwhile may instruct the youth, he shall be endowed with seventy places, of which five, of necessity, shall be free, and the rest paid for by those interested.

1. The aforesaid free places shall remain at the disposal of the one in charge of the school, who shall nominate the pupils to occupy them; he taking care that they are given to poor individuals of discretion, who are known to be of good disposition.

2. The seventy places shall be divided into the *more able* and the *less able*, the first paying a dollar, and the second fifty cents each month. Although each pupil may be advanced in his classes,

¹On the back of a report of the condition of the garrisons of Texas. Bexar Archives.

the method or order of his payment should not be altered in any other way than is by this assigned to him; for the end is to avoid large contributions from the poorer ones.

3. The salary for the maintenance of the teacher shall be placed at thirty dollars a month.

4. The collection of the fund shall be in charge of one of the *alcaldes*, who, with the aid of the ward commissioners [*comisarios de barrio*],¹ shall look after the attendance of the children at school, and [shall take care] that they be at least a month ahead in the salary of the teacher, in order that he may not lack subsistence, and that any surplus be turned into a general fund for the ordinary expenses of the school.

5. That one of the *regidores* be charged to visit the school at least once a day, in order to note the infringements of the rules that he may observe, and to apply the remedy that appears to him most opportune, as the case may demand.

6. That the books, paper, ink-stands, and copy-books be at the expense of those interested, as also the tables and seats, in addition to those which may be existing in the school-house.

These are the points which we consider necessary for the useful establishment of this school, save those which may appear convenient to the superior authorities.

San Fernando de Bexar, 10 of June, 1812.

José Antonio Saucedo.

Josef Erasmo Seguin.

APPENDIX C.

ORDINANCE WHICH SHALL BE OBSERVED IN THE PUBLIC FREE PRIMARY SCHOOL DEDICATED TO THE INSTRUCTION OF THE YOUTH OF THE VICINITY OF BEXAR:*

Chapter I.

General Provisions.

Art. 1. The Holy Patron of this pious establishment shall be the Christ Child, and on the 25 of December, when his festival is celebrated, there shall be a Church function and some other public

*San Fernando had been divided into four wards in 1809.

*For the year 1828. In the translation of this code of rules the literal expression of the original has been followed or imitated as closely as possible, the changes being, for the most part, only in punctuation. The capitalization and parentheses are those of the manuscript.

demonstrations of worship and of merriment, which shall be decided upon annually by the teacher, who shall present them beforehand to the Illustrious *Ayuntamiento* for its approbation or amendment.

2. Two months previous to said festival the Teacher shall send an invitation, by writing, to the Parents of all the Children, inviting them to make a contribution to defray the costs of this religious act, and these shall coöperate freely, according to their means, with whatever amount they wish, or with nothing, if they thus think best.

3. Before the close of the eight days following this function, the Teacher shall present to the Illustrious *Ayuntamiento* a written statement of the amount of the contribution, and of the objects for which it was spent.

4. Over the principal Doorway of the house which serves for a School shall be placed an inscription of the following tenor: PUBLIC FREE PRIMARY SCHOOL.

5. The style of address of the children among themselves, within or without the School, shall be that of Citizen So-and-so; and that which they shall use for the Teacher, as for all other persons their elders, shall be that of *Señor*.

6. All the children for the present and while the corresponding funds are being created, shall furnish their Syllable-books, Books, paper, pens and the remaining necessary articles, which the Teacher may require of them.

7. In the course of each year there shall be two periods during which the children shall enjoy a holiday or vacation, one of these lasting from the Wednesday of Holy Week until Easter Saturday, and the other from the 23 of December to the 1st of the following January, inclusive.

8. On feast days of only one cross there shall be school in the same manner as on all other days.

Chapter II.

The Principal Points upon which has been based the contract agreed upon with the Teacher who is to serve the school, and some other rules which bear relation to them.

9. Citizen José Antonio Gama y Fonseca is obligated spontaneously and solemnly to teach, for four years reckoned from the 1st

of January of the present year, all the youths of this vicinity, under the rules that have been prescribed for him or which shall be in the future; to read books and manuscript; to write, to calculate in the first five principal rules of Arithmetic; to take care that they receive some knowledge of the Grammar of the Language, likewise of the Doctrine of our Holy Religion by means of the catechism of Father Ripalda, and of the principles of good Morals and Manners, and other social virtues.

10. He shall enjoy annually the salary of \$500, to be paid at the completion of each month, executing for this purpose partial receipts in favor of the Illustrious *Ayuntamiento*, which shall always be the immediate administrator of the funds destined and collected for this object.

11. In consequence of the preceding article, the Teacher is deprived of the power of exacting, even indirectly, from the pupils, any kind of payment, remuneration, or contribution; (not even that which is customary in other schools under the name of Fridays), unless their Parents desire to reward him spontaneously with some gift, as a token of their gratitude.

12. He is prohibited also from selling seats, or other abuses of this kind, which a corrupt custom has introduced into our schools.

For the first visit which must be paid to the school by the Illustrious *Ayuntamiento* the Teacher shall have formed a list of all the pupils, expressing their names, ages, date of entrance, and the state of instruction in which they then were, and a blank margin to the right, in order to note the Progress and Retrogression, which may be occurring, in accordance with the model which will be assigned to him; likewise showing the copy-books and remaining documents which may serve as evidence of the progress of the Children.

The Teacher shall be likewise prepared and in agreement with the Curate of the place regarding the visits which the latter must make to the School as Priest of this parish; agreeing also during the time of Lent upon the days and the methods in which the children must make their confessions, in order to fulfill their duties annually with the Church.

Each four months the Teacher shall hold a public contest in the School itself, announcing three days beforehand to all the vicinity that 12 pupils (six from each Band) will compete, and in this contest six individuals, who shall be invited in writing, shall serve

as synodals;¹ he indicating to them the matters in which they may examine the participants, any one else in attendance being free to examine them also.

The contest being concluded, the Director associated with the synodals, after previous information which he shall give them concerning the progress of the Children who have participated in it, shall proceed to the grading, which shall be done in three degrees—Superlative, Comparative, and Positive, or especially good, very good, and good; there being next drawn up a record, which shall be filed at the School, indicating those who have been accredited to the first, to the 2nd, and to the 3rd grade, signed by the synodals and the Teacher; then they shall proceed to distribute among those of the 1st and 2nd places badges of distinction, which they shall wear placed upon the left arm, as will be shown in the first instance which occurs.

Chapter III.

Concerning the internal management of the School.

This shall commence its work promptly every day in the Summer from six to eleven, and from seven to twelve in the Winter for the mornings, and for the afternoon, in each season, from two until six. The period of Summer shall be reckoned from the 1st of April to the last of September, and the six remaining months for the Winter.

At the said hours, with the number of Children that are present, the Teacher shall begin School with a devout prayer dedicated to the Supreme Being (which shall also be repeated at the closing); assigning next the distinct occupations with which the pupils are to employ themselves.

Of all these there shall be formed two parties, or Bands (Rome and Carthage), and in each one there shall be a President, six Captains and six corporals; which positions for the first time shall be filled by the Teacher, according to the experience of the Children, and afterwards they shall have the option of them who in the public and private Disputations are most distinguished for their advancement and application. . The captains and corporals shall be denominated in numerical order from 1st to 6th, according to which they shall take position, whenever they form, at the head of their bands.

¹That is, examiners.

In order to be President it is at least necessary to be already writing [*de delgado*];¹ to know the first four rules of counting; two-thirds of the catechism, the same of the lessons of Spanish Grammar, and some others concerning the constitution which may be taught them. The Captains must present a half of these qualifications, and the corporals a third of them, all of these being under the judgment of the Director, upon the supposition that the instruction which is demanded shall be perfect.

The bands shall be divided amongst themselves into three departments; the 1st shall be composed of the captains and the corporals, and shall be called the Department of officers, and shall be immediately subject to its respective President; all those who are already writing shall form the second and it shall be under the immediate orders of the captains; and the third shall be composed of readers only, and the corporals shall have charge of it; the number of children composing it being distributed among them in equal parts, the same being done in the 2nd for the captains.

The daily device that the officers shall wear, within and outside the school, shall be three fluted ribbons placed crosswise upon the left breast and a bar of white metal which crosses the three bands in the middle, commencing in the 1st and terminating in the 3rd, for the president; two arranged similarly for the captains, and one for the corporals, both without bars, the Romans being distinguished from the Carthaginians in that the device of the first shall be sky-blue, and scarlet that of the second; the Presidents shall carry in addition, for all public occasions, in the hand the most suitable cane possible. Each Band shall have a white Banner with the inscription in the middle of *Rome* or *Carthage*, in conformity with the model which shall be given, and these shall be placed in the school at the head of the party to which each one corresponds; it being the duty of the corporals of the sixth rank to bear these banners whenever they have to go in regular order outside the School, occupying the position which belongs to the Bearers.

In addition there shall be a place of opprobrium for the Children of both bands, designated by the Teacher and destined for the indolent or those who have relapsed into shortcomings in their respec-

¹This expression is too puzzling for an attempt at translation.

tive subjects, which they shall not be able to leave until they give full proof of application and amendment, and with previous sup-
plication from the commander of the Squad to which they belong.

The duties of the President shall be: 1st, to receive immediately the orders which the Teacher may have to communicate to the School; 2nd, to cause these to be observed and properly fulfilled by their respective bands, as well as all those prescribed in this regulation, under immediate responsibility to the Director, for which purpose they shall make use of the captains and corporals of their command, who shall be subordinate to them in everything; 3rd, to preside over their respective bands whenever they are gathered in regular order; 4th, to reply themselves in the public or private disputations, whenever an individual of their respective bands is unable to do so; 5th, to give an account to the Teacher of the faults which they observe in the Children inside and outside of the School, correcting them themselves by a serious admonition, or ordering them to kneel down, if the fault should be grave, and giving notice immediately to the Teacher, who shall carry into effect these punishments in the best possible way, unless injustice should be manifest.

The Department of readers shall be immediately in charge of the corporals, each one of these taking care to assign and hear, morning and evening, the Children of his Squad in the corresponding lesson and other tasks provided for them, giving account of the result to his respective President in order that the latter may do the same, in turn, to the Teacher; both of these should themselves frequently surprise the instructors in order to see if they comply with their duties, especially when some punishment is to be applied to anyone whatever of the Children, of whom his immediate director has given a bad report.

In the same manner and under the same conditions as given in the preceding article, by which the department of reading has to be subject to the six corporals, the department of writing shall be subject to the six captains, and the department composed of the former and the latter officers to the Presidents, and each one of these sections shall be denominated a Squadron.

As the next act after the invocation to the Supreme Being which

the —¹ article prescribes, each of the captains and corporals shall gather those of his Squadron in their respective seats—(which shall be changed only through having obtained some promotion or degradation), and shall proceed immediately to hear their lessons, to rule paper for them, to pass lists, etc.

The Teacher shall observe very scrupulously that all the officers fulfill their respective duties—and the least failure shall render them liable to be deposed from the employment,—and to correct them seriously, especially when through animosity or partiality they conceal or exaggerate the faults of their subordinates.

In the morning at 9 the Children shall be permitted to go out to breakfast, the Teacher taking care that this interruption does not last more than half an hour.

He shall take care, also, that the special work of each department shall be terminated morning and afternoon an hour before dismissal and that this interval be employed in hearing lessons and in correcting exercise books.

Three questions of Christian doctrine in the morning, and as many more for the afternoon, shall be the memory lessons which shall be imposed upon all the pupils, including from *every faithful Christian*, and marking each *point* separately by questions up to where they begin.

On the last Saturday in each month the Children of the first and second departments (one band against another) shall have, in the afternoon, a contest in which shall be considered the exercises and their respective instruction in reading, and the memory lessons which they have learned; and the decision shall rest upon the judgment of the Teacher, there being an appeal from his judgment only to the individual vote of three residents, simply in the branch of writing.

The conquered party shall have to file in front of the conquerors who shall be seated in their places, and as each pupil of the former class arrives in front of the one who surpassed him, he shall kneel on one knee to the ground and shall remain until the latter shall lift him up, saying to him: *Have a little more application.* The President only in every case, and those who have surpassed,

¹It was evidently intended that the numbers after 12, which are wanting in the MS., should be inserted, and that this blank should be filled to correspond. The article referred to would thus have been numbered the 18th.

although they may be of the conquered party, shall not perform this last act of acknowledgment; but they shall remain standing after they have filed past until the last of their associates shall have performed it; and the Banner of the conquered shall remain furled until they recover the lost honor.

Challenges shall also be permitted, at one time it may be of one band against another, at another of the individuals of the same one amongst themselves, observing in the first case everything provided in the preceding article; and in the second case the punishment of the conquered shall be to go down to the place which the conqueror held, the latter going up to the place of the former.

For the remaining Saturdays, in the afternoon, the Children of the first and second Departments shall be employed only in learning a memory lesson, the shortest possible, of Spanish Grammar, and of any other manuscript compendium that shall be formed for them. They shall become accustomed among themselves to ask and answer questions, and those of the third shall merely take a review of all the questions of Christian Doctrine with which they may have been occupied during the week.

Failure of attendance on the part of the Presidents, as well as that of any of the captains or corporals, shall be constantly provided for by the immediate successor, whether it be to obtain possession of the place, or to fill it provisionally while the absent one is not in attendance.

The day after the disputation provided for during each four months in article —, ¹ the rest of the Children shall be subjected to an examination by the Teacher and the twelve participants, and all those residents who wish may also be present. According to the greater or less amount of learning which they show, they shall be judged as belonging to the first, second, and third grade, without giving them the honorary distinction of the badge provided for in the cited article.

Chapter IV.

Rules which shall be taught to the Children for their conduct outside the School.

The Teacher shall especially take care to admonish them concerning the propriety and moderation with which they ought to comport themselves in their homes, in the Church, on the street,

¹This blank should have been filled with the number 15.

and in all their intercourse with their elders, advising them that above all things, they abstain from the detestable use of obscene words, from disputes, and from prohibited games.

On Fridays and Sundays of Lent in the afternoon, the Teacher shall take care to conduct the Children to recite the *Via Crucis* and to hear the accustomed doctrinal discourse. To do this he shall try to shorten the duties of the School and to accomplish the same as on all the remaining days, he agreeing with the Curate of the place, whether before the discourse the Pupils may be exercised in a Catechism of Christian doctrine.

On all Sundays and observed festal days of the year the Children shall be assembled at the School an hour before high Mass, in order to attend it in regular order.

On all occasions when the Children have to attend Church, in their going and coming, they may go praising God by means of some devout song in which the Teacher shall instruct them, seeing that all of those who can carry some book in which shall be explained the unspeakable mysteries of this august Sacrifice.

For the purpose of keeping order in the ranks, the first and second captains of each band shall be employed, without having any place therein, going back and forth along their respective lines, to cause the best order and propriety to be observed.

Each one of the Presidents shall have a copy of this regulation, and shall cause the captains and corporals to read it at least once a week, and for this purpose they shall make all the copies possible, the Teacher himself, moreover, taking care to read it aloud at least once a month.

The Presidents for all cases which present themselves shall refer to what is prescribed in this regulation.

Chapter V.

Penal Laws.

The punishments which shall be applied to the Children who may commit some fault shall be: to put them on their knees in the School; to keep them under arrest in the same on holidays; to employ them in sweeping and in other cleaning, for a whole week, no more; to assign them to the seat of opprobrium until they recover their lost standing; to imprison them in a room or dungeon, which shall be called the Warehouse, but they shall not pass the

night in it. In case that any pupil shall be convicted of robbery, within or outside of the School, he shall be punished with six stripes, the same penalty being inflicted upon those who relapse into their faults in lessons or writing after having been a week in the place of opprobrium.

The Teacher shall take care that all punishments be applied to the Children with all possible forbearance and equity, in proportion to the nature of the faults and persistence therein.

Failures in reading, in the copy-books, in accounting, or memory lessons shall be regarded as relapses, if they are repeated within the space of one week.

It remains under the immediate responsibility of the Teacher alone to look out for the most punctual observance of this regulation, as also the only object to which everything is directed, and that is, the advancement and instruction of all the Children.

The immediate fiscal and Judge, who at the same time, shall observe the conduct of the Director and apply to him the punishment which he may merit according to his faults, shall be the Illustrious *Ayuntamiento*, from whose sentence appeal can be made only to the Citizen Chief of this Department.

The only punishments which can be applied to the Director either for the infraction of any article of this regulation, or for any other grave fault, relative to his ministry, of which he may be convicted, shall be: 1st, a discount from the salary of the next month, and, 2nd, the absolute deprivation of his office, a previous succinct report to this effect having been approved by the Citizen Chief of this Department.

The pecuniary penalty mentioned in the preceding article shall not be less than one dollar, nor exceed six.

This ordinance, before being signed by the Illustrious *Ayuntamiento*, shall be laid before the Teacher of the School, in order that, within the limit of three days, having examined the whole in detail, he may be able to make criticisms which occur to him, which shall either be answered, if they are not thought reasonable, or shall be made use of by addition to or amendment of, any of the rules prescribed by the commission empowered for this purpose.

Refugio de la Garza¹

Juan Martin de Beramendi

Jose Maria Balmaceda.

¹The handwriting of the Ordinance, as well as that of the following address, seems to be that of Refugio de la Garza.

Being carefully informed of what is contained in the foregoing Ordinance, which is to serve for the internal Government of the Public primary School of this City, which is under my control, and not having any reflection to make, I am in agreement with whatever is prescribed in it and will take care that it be put in practice and properly complied with.

José Anto. Gama y Fonseca.

San Fernando de Bexar,
13 of Mch., 1828.

The foregoing Ordinance having been put under general discussion, it has been approved in its entirety by this *Ayuntamiento*.

Capitular Hall of San Fernando de Bejar,
13 of March, 1828.

Ramon Musquiz
Jose Maria de la Garza
Juan Angl. Seguin

Juan Martin de Beramendi
Manul. Flores
Victoriano Zepeda,
Sec'y ad Interim.

The education of youth has always been one of the most important bases for the felicity of Peoples, and the prosperity of their Government. The Mexican, who, unfortunately, groaned under the despotic and savage sway of the ambitious sons of Iberia, has never occupied himself in perfecting this most important institution, which would already have placed him on a level with the most cultured nations. The corrupt Government at Madrid only cared to suck up, by whatever means within its reach, the precious resources of the Americas, and studiously and craftily to retard the growth of enlightenment. Nothing, in truth, was more natural than this iniquitous behavior, since the first, increasing its riches, satisfied all the desires of its vain and haughty natural caprice; and the second secured it in the domination of the richest and most productive of its evil-acquired patrimonies, blinding us to the important knowledge of our Native rights.

Nevertheless, the natural empire of the reason, which some day comes to prevail, and the characteristic qualities of all the children of this soil, in union with other joint causes, broke finally the ominous chain which bound us, elevating us to the rank of free men, independent of any other.

In spite of this, and of the paternal beneficent institutions of

our Present Government, to which belongs the establishment of primary Schools, the spirit of discord which still endures amongst us has impeded it from occupying itself with this, as with other matters that undoubtedly make for the aggrandizement of the Nation, all its efforts being employed in assuring our internal and external tranquillity, which is doubtless the corner stone of the social edifice.

In spite of all, and in virtue of the ardent desires of the towns, there are already seen in most of them educational establishments for the youth who will form the future generation, which will come to secure completely Mexican Liberties; and among these, although one of the most distant from the center, of the least populous, of the poorest in moneyed citizens, and finally, vexed by the terrifying hostilities which it has suffered from the savages through long periods of time, ——¹ has just made a heroic and extraordinary effort, stirred up by several of its citizens, and by that worthy citizen, General Anastacio Bustamante, to make a collection amongst all its citizens, amounting to six hundred dollars annually and lasting for four years, in order to carry to accomplishment the desire which in all time it has had for the education of its youth.

Yes, unfortunate Béjar, truly worthy of a better fate, you are the one which has just given so heroic a testimony of beneficence in spite of your notorious poverty; with difficulty do you commence to lift yourself from the abject state into which you had sunk, thanks to the presence of that philanthropic General and the aid of the Supreme Federal Government.

Be filled, then, citizens of Béjar, with the ineffable satisfaction which is produced by the important services directed to the good of your children, of society in general, and of the adored Country to which we belong, awaiting the glorious day in which you may either experience the fruit of your sacrifices for this pious establishment, or in which your ashes may receive a new being, through the eulogies which, without doubt, your posterity will lavish upon you.

¹The name Béjar was omitted here in the MS.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

In the April, May, and June numbers of *Out West* is continued the publication of Junípero Serra's Diary, the first section of which appeared in the March number. Other installments are to follow.

Two pamphlets received from Hon. L. Bradford Prince, president of the Historical Society of New Mexico, are *The Stone Idols of New Mexico*, and *Statehood for New Mexico*, the latter being a speech delivered by Mr. Prince at the Trans-Mississippi Congress, held at Cripple Creek, Colorado, July 19, 1901.

An interesting and instructive booklet is *Christmas in Old Mexico*, by Fanny Chambers Gooch Iglehart, author of *Face to Face with the Mexicans*. It pictures certain salient aspects of the Mexican Christmas with much vividness.

The March number (Vol. VI, No. 2) of Publications of the Southern History Association contains the first installment of two documents of considerable value: *Journal of Charles Porterfield*, and *Southern Political Views, 1865*, by Hon. John H. Reagan. Captain Charles Porterfield was a Virginian who enlisted in the Continental army in 1775. He saw service at the siege of Boston; in the Canada expedition of Montgomery and Arnold; in the battle of Saratoga; spent the winter of 1777-78 at Valley Forge, and was finally killed in the Southern campaign of 1780 in South Carolina. Judge Reagan's paper takes the form of a letter addressed to President Andrew Johnson. It was written from prison in Fort Warren, Boston Harbor, and is dated "May 28, 1865." This number of the *Publications* contains also a *Bibliography of S. C. Women Writers*, by A. S. Salley, Jr.; *An Early Decision on Imperialism* (1812), by D. Y. Thomas; and an account of the celebration of the *Bi-Centenary of the French Settlement of the Southwest*, held at Mobile, Alabama, January 22, 1902. The Secretary's report for 1901 shows the Association in an encouraging condition.

The May number of the *Publications* contains: *Journal of*

Charles Porterfield (continued); *Southern Political Views, 1865* (concluded); *Early Quaker Records in Virginia* (to be continued); *An Old-Time Merchant in South Carolina*, by Kate Furman, and *The Spaniards in the South and Southwest*, by Stephen B. Weeks.

THE QUARTERLY has received an interesting and valuable brochure of 44 pages entitled *Vida y Obras de Don José Fernando Ramírez*, by Don Luis González Obregón, M. S. A. This brief sketch of the life of the distinguished jurist, historian, and man of letters, who found it possible, in spite of the storms of his political career, to do so much for the cause of sound learning in Mexico, is told with evident sympathy by Señor González Obregón. It is a pathetic story to tell—how Ramírez toiled for a life time in forming a library of inestimable value, only for it to be sold in London after his death. It has been scattered to the four winds, but there is warrant for the faith that most of it has passed to appreciative owners. This is certainly true of so much of it as has fallen into the hands of Mr. Edward E. Ayer, of Chicago.

The latter half of the pamphlet contains a bibliography of the works of Ramírez with notes that must prove very useful to students of Southwestern history.

G. P. G.

The April number (Vol. VII, No. 3) of *The American Historical Review* contains, besides the secretary's report of the Washington meeting of the American Historical Association, three signed articles, thirty-four pages of documents, and the usual portion of book reviews and notices. Professor Chas. H. Haskins contributes the first installment of a paper entitled *Robert Le Bougre and the Beginnings of the Inquisition in Northern France*. It gives us substantial information relative to the Inquisition in northern France during the early thirteenth century. In the history of the Inquisition this particular field has been, comparatively speaking, a neglected one. George Kriehn continues his *Studies in the Sources of the Social Revolt in 1381*. Part V is devoted to the death of Wat Tyler. He concludes that Tyler was a man of marked ability and eloquence; and that the traditional account of the events at Smithville culminating in his death is far from correct, particu-

larly in the view that Tyler's death was an accident. In support of his contention, Mr. Kriehn analyzes the value of Froissart, Walsingham, and Knighton, on whose chronicles the traditional view is based, and concludes that as sources for the question in hand they are far inferior to the *Continuation of the Eulogium* and the *Anonymous French Chronicle*. He then proceeds to reconstruct the story of events at Smithfield, basing it largely on the last mentioned source. He concludes that, instead of being an accident, Tyler's death was most likely "one of the state murders that darken English history." Part VI is a detailed analysis of the demands of the insurgents. Here again Mr. Kriehn draws conclusions at variance with generally accepted views. James Ford Rhodes writes a short paper on *Who Burned Columbia?* The documents printed in this number are *Papers of Sir Charles R. Vaughan, 1825-1835* (concluding installment).

The secretary's report of the Washington meeting describes one of the most profitable meetings yet held. A portion of this report of direct interest to readers of *THE QUARTERLY*, and to students of Southwestern history generally, is that devoted to Professor Garrison's part in the program. The liberal space given to his paper on historical study in the Southwest and the favorable comments upon it indicate the interest being taken in Southwestern history and in the University of Texas as a center for the study of it. At this meeting Professor Garrison was made chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, and was also appointed a member of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, of which the chairman is Professor E. G. Bourne, of Yale. The other members of the commission are Professor Frederick W. Moore, of Vanderbilt; Professor Theodore C. Smith, of the University of Ohio, and Secretary Reuben Gold Thwaites, of the Wisconsin State Historical Society.

H. E. B.

NOTES AND FRAGMENTS.

A CORRECTION.—In the changes incident to correction in the proof of THE QUARTERLY for October, 1901, p. 109, one line was repeated and one lost. This left the beginning of the last paragraph on the page in confusion. It should read as follows: "Shortly after Beaujeu's departure La Salle organized an expedition to explore the river on which he was situated in order to clear his doubts about its being an arm of the Mississippi. This expedition resulted," etc. In the same article, p. 106, l. 14, the words *in sympathy* should be inserted after "Jesuit."

NOTICE OF TEXAS BY A TRAVELER.—Mr. Schabelitz, in 1888, collected into a pamphlet of 164 pages, entitled *Ueberseeische Reisen*, the accounts of the travels of Amand Goegg, which had been published in the *Hamburg Fremdenblatt* and the *Frankfurter Zeitung*.

Mr. Goegg first visited America in 1851. He consequently found a considerable change when in 1876 he arrived in New York *en route* to Australia. An account of this trip occupies the first 33 pages. The period 1880-1882 he spent in Brazil, and contributed much useful information respecting that country.

His remarks on Texas occupy pages 125-142. The first letter is dated from San Antonio, in August, 1882, at a time when the Southern Pacific stopped at Morgan City, whence the traveler was taken by steamer to Galveston.

He gives a short account of the German colony of New Braunsfels, and notices with pleasure the number of German newspapers. The few remaining pages describe a trip through Mexico.

WILLIAM BEER.

Howard Memorial Library, New Orleans.

ROSE'S ESCAPE FROM THE ALAMO.—I have been advised by a friend whose position entitles his opinion to high respect, that it is incumbent upon me to answer the question as to why the narrative

of this escape was not published before 1873, and I do so according to my knowledge of the subject.

I have elsewhere explained what I believe to be the cause of the silence, till that date, of others on this subject.¹ Therefore, it remains only to explain why I did not publish the facts sooner.

Be it remembered that my account of Rose's escape and journey was not the *principal* purpose of my article in the *Texas Almanac* for 1873; that story was merely incidental to, and in proof of, my version of the substance of Colonel Travis's last speech to his comrades. The compilation of that speech was a work of much study and long deliberation, besides repeated conversations with my mother, to refresh my memory. Though I often thought of the speech, and wished that it could be rescued from oblivion, I did not, till 1871, believe that I or any other person could perform such a task.

In 1871, after much reading of early events in Texas—mainly in Richardson's *Texas Almanac*—I experienced a phenomenal refreshment of my memory of what I had seen, heard, and read of during my earlier life. Among other things, I recovered scraps of Travis's speech, as Rose had disconnectedly repeated them to my parents, and they had likewise repeated them to me. I then felt that I owed to posterity the duty of preserving all that I could of that speech. By the assistance of my mother, whose memory was yet bright, I committed to writing all that we could remember of the speech, according to our recollection of its substance; but its parts were disconnected, and we did not think that they included all that Travis said. Then I wished so to arrange the parts as to approach, as nearly as possible, toward their proper connection. Accordingly I rewrote and transposed the parts many times, and the result was the speech as it was afterwards published. My success was as much a surprise to me as it could be to any one else.

Having reproduced Travis's speech, as nearly as it could be done, it was necessary that I should explain how I had obtained it. This explanation consisted in Rose's statement in full. To repeat this was comparatively an easy task, as his narrative was one of successive events which he stated in the order of their occurrences and was easily remembered. I accordingly wrote his full statement,

¹See Mrs. Pennybacker's *New History of Texas for Schools*, revised edition, pp. 185-187; also *THE QUARTERLY* for July, 1901, pp. 9-10.

embracing the speech, and this was the form in which both the speech and the narrative were first published. I hoped to have my article published in the *Texas Almanac* for 1872; but it was not ready in time for that year. It was published in that for 1873, which was the last issue of that valuable annual.

On request of Mrs. Pennybacker I prepared for her use separate copies of my versions of Travis's speech and Rose's escape and journey to my father's residence, both of which are inserted in her *History of Texas for Schools*.¹

Summary (Here I condense my explanation to twenty words): Prior to 1871, I did not believe that the substance of Colonel Travis's last speech could be rescued from oblivion.

W. P. ZUBER.

"DE LOS MAPAS."—The following fragment was copied in Spanish from an original document in the archives of the Diocese of San Antonio (*Bautismos, Casamientos, Entierros, 2 B, 1731-1760. San Fernando*. Pp. 197-198) by the Rev. Father Edmond J. P. Schmitt, deceased. The caption, "*de los Mapas*" stands in the margin of the manuscript from which the copy was made, opposite the portion extracted. The order here set forth is of interest as throwing light upon the means taken by the Church to administer its affairs. It is not known how the order was executed nor what the result showed, but it is safe to say that if the returns could be found they would doubtless constitute valuable material on the early history of Texas. In translating the extract the capitalization and punctuation of Father Schmitt's copy have not been followed, but otherwise the form and mode of expression of the manuscript have been preserved so far as is consonant with rendering the somewhat corrupt Spanish into intelligible English.

We, the Dr. Dn. Diego Rodriguez de Rivas, by the divine favor and [that] of the Holy Apostolic See, Bishop of Guadalaxara, New Kingdom of Galicia and of Leon, provinces of Nayarit, [the] Californias, Coahuila, and Texas, of the Council of His Majesty:

To all our curates, secular and regular, we make known that the piety of the King our Lord has given orders most fitting and suitable for the convenience of the curates in the administration

¹Revised edition, pp. 139-140, 183-188.

of the Holy sacraments [and] the spiritual welfare of the parishioners, for which, and in order that the holy intentions of his majesty may be put into practice, we order and command that each one of the curates make a map or plan of the territory of his parish, marking the settlements, stating the number and condition of the parishioners, the[ir] temperament, the employments and occupations by which they live and sustain themselves, the condition of the roads from settlement to settlement,—that is, whether they are level, broken, or wooded; whether there are intervening rivers of considerable volume, and how they are crossed, in time of rain or in dry weather, or [and] with what dangers or inconveniences one travels from one settlement to others [another]. And considering that some of the curates may find themselves embarrassed in the execution of this our mandate, through want of practice in making map[s], or by [their] not understanding well that expressed in this despatch, let them observe and practice that which, for illustration and example, is placed on the other side. And in consideration of its being of so much importance for the curates and the spiritual welfare of their parishioners, we order and command that within thirty days counted from the receipt of this despatch, they remit to our *Secretaria de Cámara y Gobierno* the map[s] and the description of all the aforesaid, under penalty to the secular curates of two hundred *pesos*, and to the regular [curates] of four months' suspension from office and benefice, during which time a secular priest shall serve the parish (*doctrina*),¹ and let him have the income of the parish. Given in the City of Guadalajara, on the eleventh day of the month of May, in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five; signed in our own name and hand, sealed with our seal, and countersigned by our undersigned *Secretaria de Cámara y Gobierno*. Diego, Bishop of Guadalajara. By order of the Most Illustrious, the Bishop, my Lord Pedro de Madrid.

Secretary,

Br. [?] Jph Antto. Ildephonso d la Peña.

HERBERT E. BOLTON.

¹A *doctrina* was technically an Indian town or village newly converted to Christianity, to which the parish organization had not yet been given (see Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, II, 178, note), but in this case *doctrina* and parish seem to be used as synonymous terms.

SOME INTERESTING DOCUMENTS.—The documents printed below are copied from originals in possession of Mrs. Adèle B. Looscan, of Houston, Texas.

The Guadalupe and the Montezuma mentioned in the letter were two Mexican vessels of war that had been built in England, and were attacked, when they were brought over, by Commodore Moore on the coast of Yucatan.

The bill of lading consists of a printed blank filled in with a pen. The written parts of the bill are here put in italics.—EDITOR QUARTERLY.

New Orleans August 14, 1843.

Andrew Brisco Esq

Dear Sir The prospect of a peace will bring our Lands into Market have you done anything towards getting settlers on our Montgomery location, how is it situated with regard to Texas &c. and is there any demand for it., I have directed several Emigrants to you, who were in pursuit of good locations but have not heard from them since. there are a number more expected this fall and I wish to be prepared for them. you will therefore do me a favor of writing all the particulars

I came from Galveston a short time since on business and shall be detained here awhile. should you write me address to care of Texas Consul., I hope to be able to return in the Winter. Speculations is rife on the subject of the Treaty to be effected with Santa Ana, *Abolition, Relinquishing Territory, assuming 5 million debt to English bond holders, &c. &c.* are among them. I think we have suffered enough to entitle us to an Unconditional recognition, Atho assuming the 5 million debt to pay when we can, would be better than to spend that amount in a continuance of a ruinous War, Gen Green & 5 of his comrades have escaped from the Perote Prison & took passage from here in a Scho. bound to Matagorda. they are full of fight & want to be revenged on Santa Ana for his Cruel & Villanous treatment to them, Doctor Sinnickson & Capt Reese have published thanking letters for favors received from Mexicans, they may possibly produce better treatment to those left behind,

I have seen & conversed with the surjon of the Mexican Steamer Guadalupe. he compliments Com Moore on his gallantry says 3 shots struck the steamer. but not a man was touched, he says if

Com Moore could have got along side he must have captured them, as there was only 15 English on board & the rest of the crew some 4 or 500 were Mexicans, so alarmed that they were in each others way & would have made poor defence The Accounts from the Montezuma are that, the approach of the Texas Vessels produced the utmost Consternation, the Mexicans exclaiming here comes the *Texas Devils*, The Continued heavy rains has kept back the yellow fever. 8 or 10 cases however have been reported yesterday & today. James K Brown & his Sister Jesse have escaped from the danger, by going to Saint Louis, Business is, as ever, at this season flat, every body that can afford it have gone to some retreat or Watering place. so that few remain for the Yellow fever to operate on, let me hear from you soon Very Respectfully Yours

EDWARD HALL

Mr Bryan is still at Galveston attending to the Naval affairs

SHIPPED in good order and well conditioned by *Nathaniel Lynch* on board the *Schr* called the *Kosciusko* whereof *A Burns* is master, now lying in the port of *Anahuac* and bound for *New Orleans* To say *One Hundred Dollars—Seventy Dollars of which is in Bank Notes and thirty in Eagle Dollars* being marked and numbered as in the margin and are to be delivered in the like good order and condition at the port of *New Orleans* unto *A Brisco* or to his assigns, he or they paying freight for the said *at the rate of one per cent* with ——— In witness whereof the master or purser of the said vessel hath affirmed to *this*. Bills of Lading, all of this tenor and date one of which being accomplished the others to stand void.

Dated in *Anahuac* the *31* day of *October* 1836

A BURNS

QUERIES AND ANSWERS.

I should be glad to have answers to the following questions relative to Ellis Bean:

1. Was he in sympathy with the Texas Revolution?
2. When did he leave Texas, and under what circumstances?

GEO. C. PENDLETON,
Temple, Texas.

AFFAIRS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

The annual meeting of the Association, held at Lampasas on San Jacinto Day, was well attended, and in it an enthusiastic interest was shown in Association affairs. This meeting, according to the plan announced in the April *QUARTERLY*, was held jointly with the annual meeting of the Veterans and the Daughters of the Republic. It is hoped and intended that this shall become a permanent custom, for all three of the associations profit much by such an arrangement. As numerous individuals are members of more than one of the organizations, joint meetings insure good attendance with all its obvious advantages.

The citizens of Lampasas displayed a generous hospitality and secured for themselves a most kindly remembrance in providing accommodations and entertainment for the numerous visitors to their pleasant city.

The meeting was devoted exclusively to the transaction of necessary business. The President, Judge J. H. Reagan, being absent on account of ill health, ex-Governor Lubbock presided. Professor George P. Garrison spoke at some length on the purposes and present condition of the Association. He pointed out the importance to scholarship and to enlightened citizenship of the work being done by the Association in its efforts to collect and preserve historical records, and to direct along scientific lines the study of Southwestern history. He showed that this is a work in which Texas has peculiar advantages, hence, special responsibilities; and, indeed, one in which the outside world is coming more and more to look to Texas for guidance and leadership. He reported for the Association a sound financial status; a gratifying increase in desirable membership, a number of additions having recently been made outside the State; a rapidly widening influence for the Association through *THE QUARTERLY*; and a number of valuable additions to the library. In conclusion, Dr. Garrison spoke feelingly of the irreparable loss which the Association has recently sustained through the death of some of its most able and active members, particularly Professor Lester G. Bugbee, Hon. Guy M. Bryan, and Dr. Rufus C. Burleson.

In the election of officers, all incumbents were re-elected, new ones being chosen only to fill vacancies caused by death. The following officers were elected: President, Judge J. H. Reagan; Vice-Presidents, Mrs. Julia Lee Sinks, ex-Gov. F. R. Lubbock, T. S. Miller, Esq.; Professor David F. Houston (*vice* Guy M. Bryan); Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer, Mr. Eugene C. Barker (*vice* Lester G. Bugbee); Members of the Executive Council, Professor John C. Townes, Professor S. P. Brooks (*vice* Rufus C. Burleson), and Mrs. Dora Fowler Arthur. This list does not include those positions held *ex-officio*.

A long list of names, reported for membership by Professor Garrison for the Executive Council, was approved by the meeting. This increase leaves the *bona fide* membership at about nine hundred. A number of additional applications for membership were referred to the Executive Council.

The concluding transaction of the meeting was the appointment of a committee, consisting of Professor Garrison, Mrs. J. B. Dibrell and Judge C. W. Raines, to draft resolutions, to be published in *THE QUARTERLY*, expressing the regret of the Association for its loss in the death of Professor Bugbee, Colonel Bryan, and Dr. Burleson, and recording its appreciation for their invaluable services. The resolutions drafted by the committee are given immediately below.

H. E. B.

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That the Association hereby express its sense of the great loss it has sustained since its last meeting in the death of three of its most loyal and useful officers, namely, Vice-President Guy M. Bryan, Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer Lester Gladstone Bugbee, and Councillor Rufus C. Burleson.

That Texas should honor the memory of Colonel Bryan and Dr. Burleson as devoted lovers of the State and its traditions and as eminent and effective workers, the one especially in political and the other in educational lines, in its behalf; while the Association should remember them with reverence as its influential friends in the days when it has most needed help.

That by the death of Professor Bugbee the University of Texas

- has lost one of its most efficient teachers and productive investigators, and the Association an official to whose faithful and valuable services has been due a large measure of its success.

GEO. P. GARRISON,
MRS. J. B. DIBRELL,
C. W. RAINES.

During the year the following persons have been made Fellows of the Association: Mr. I. J. Cox, of the San Antonio Academy; Mr. W. Roy Smith, now of Bryn Mawr College; and Mr. Eugene C. Barker and Dr. Herbert E. Bolton, of the University.

At a meeting of the Fellows, held at the University on Saturday, June 28th, last year's Publication Committee was re-elected. At a meeting of the Executive Council, held the same day, Mrs. Nellie Stedman Cox was awarded life membership, in return for her gift to the Association of the manuscript reminiscences of her deceased husband.

TREASURER'S REPORT FOR YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1902.

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand at last report.....		\$	23 36
I. From dues:			
2	Membership dues for year ending March, 1899.....	\$	4 00
5	" " " " June, 1899.....		10 00
4	" " " " December, 1899.....		8 00
3	" " " " March, 1900.....		6 00
12	" " " " June, 1900.....		24 00
14	" " " " December, 1900.....		26 00
8	" " " " March, 1901.....		16 00
52	" " " " June, 1901.....		168 90
89	" " " " December, 1901.....		177 15
28	" " " " March, 1902.....		75 90
242	" " " " June, 1902.....		478 05
53	" " " " December, 1902.....		106 00
7	" " " " March, 1903.....		14 00
7	" " " " June, 1903.....		14 00
1	" " " " December, 1903.....		3 00
1	Fellowship dues for year ending March, 1901.....		5 00
1	" " " " December, 1901.....		5 00
1	" " " " March, 1902.....		5 00
7	" " " " June, 1902.....		34 70
II. From advertisements.....			1114 70
III. From sale of Quarterly.....			1 25
IV. From contributions.....			33 60
			239 15
Total.....		\$	1462 06

EXPENDITURES.

Vouchers.

No. 2	{	Von Boeckmann, Schutze & Co., Printing, etc.....	\$ 642 94
4			
5			
14			
15			
16	{	U. S. Postoffice, Stamps.....	70 00
17			
3			
3a			
3b			
4a	{	R. D. Coulter, clerical assistance and cash advanced.....	8 55
9			
13			
18			
1			
1a	{	S. H. Hickman, two Quarterlies.....	2 00
1b			
6			
7			
8			
10	{	Miss Edith Weeden, commission for soliciting members.....	5 00
11			
12			
13			
14			
15	{	T. F. Harwood, three Quarterlies.....	3 00
16			
17			
18			
19			
20	{	City National Bank, commission and exchange.....	31 45
21			
22			
23			
24			
25	{	George P. Garrison, cash advanced....	168 02
26			
27			
28			
29			
30	{	Veris McInnis, clerical assistance.....	1 00
31			
32			
33			
34			
35	{	Balance on hand July 1, 1902.....	932 96
36			
37			
38			
39			
40	{	Total.....	\$ 1462 06
41			
42			
43			
44			

Respectfully submitted,

EUGENE C. BARKER, Treasurer.

Approved July 21, 1902.

O. W. RAINES, {
Z. T. FULMORE { Auditing Committee.

ACCESSIONS TO THE LIBRARY FROM JUNE 15, 1901, TO JUNE 15, 1902.

AUTHOR.	TITLE.	DONOR.
	American Historical Review, Vol. 6.	American Historical Association.
	Annals of Iowa, 1901, Vol. 5.....	
	Annual List of New Books, Boston Public Library, 1899-1900.	Historical Department of Iowa.
	Annual Register, University of Chicago, 1901-02.	
	Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1900, Vols. 1 and 2.	The Library.
	Annual Report, Connecticut Historical Society, 1901.	The University.
	Annual Report of the Essex Institute, 1898-1899 and 1899-1900.	The Association.
	Annual Reports of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, 1899-1901.	The Society.
	Annual Report, Board of Regents University of California, years ending June 30, 1899, June 30, 1900.	The Institute.
	Baylor University Library Reports, 1898, 1899.	The Society.
Charles Francis Adams.....	Before and after the Treaty of Washington.	The University.
Charles A. Flagg /	Bibliography of New York Colonial History.	The University.
Judson T. Jennings }		
	Bulletin of the Essex Institute, Vol. 30.	New York Historical Society.
	Bulletin Nos. 3 and 4, South Dakota School of Mines.	New York State Library.
Genaro García.....	Carácter de la Conquista Española Catalogue, Academic Department, Yale University, 1900-1901.	The Institute.
	Catalogue, Exhibit Louisiana Society, at Fisk Library.	The School.
	Catalogue, Fourth Annual Session University of Texas Summer Schools.	The Author.
Rev. E. J. P. Schmitt.....	Catalogue of Franciscan Missions in Texas.	The University.
	Catalogue, Collection of Manuscripts, Virginia Historical Society.	The Society.
Dan'l Henry Chamberlain	Charles Sumner and the Treaty of Washington.	The Author.
Alice Ilgenfritz Jones.....	Chevalier de St. Denis, The.....	The Author.
Fanny Chambers Gooch	Christmas in Old Mexico.....	The Author.
Iglehart.	Collation of Kingsborough's Antiquities of Mexico.	Miss Adina de Zavala.
Rev. E. J. P. Schmitt.....	Collections Minnesota Historical Society, Vol. IX.	The Society.
	Colorado College Studies, Vols. 8 and 9.	The College.
	Congrès International d'Anthropologie et d'Archéologie Préhistoriques, 7th Session, 1874, Vols. 1 and 2.	The Secretary.
	Connecticut Historical Society Collections, Vol. 8.	The Society.
Max Meyer, Ph. D.	Contributions to a Psychological Theory of Music. University of Missouri Studies. Vol. I, No. 1.	The University.
C. F. Emerick.....	Credit System in the Public Domain. Publications Vanderbilt Southern History Society, No. 3.	The Society.
Sir William Talbot.....	Discoveries of John Lederer.....	F. W. Hodge.

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AUTHOR.	TITLE.	DONOR.
Rev. E. J. P. Schmitt.....	Dismus,—The Good Thief..... Essex Antiquarian, Vol. III, No. 12. Essex Institute Historical Collec- tions, Vols. 36 and 37. Fortieth Annual Report, Boston Public Library. Genealogical Advertiser, Vols. 1 and 2.	The Author. The Institute. The Institute. The Library. The Publisher.
J. V. Browder.....	Harabey..... Johns Hopkins University Studies, History and Political Science, Series XIX.	The Author. The University.
Gen. James Grant Wilson.	John Pintard, Founder of New York Historical Society. Kansas University Quarterly, Vols. 9 and 10.	The Society. The University.
Kemp Plummer Battle.....	Land of Sunshine, Vol. 15.....	The Editor.
John Gilchrist McCormick	{ Legislation of the Convention of { 1861.	University of North Caro- lina.
Teobert Maler.....	Memoirs Peabody Museum, Amer- ican Archaeology and Ethnology. Vol. II, No. 1.	The Museum.
George Byron Gordon.....	Id. Vol. I, No. 6.	
E. J. Hale.....	Monsieur Marquis de Lafayette.....	The Publishers.
O. A. Peterson..	Mound Building Age in North America.	The Author.
Oscar Montelius.....	Museum Vaterlandischer Alter- thumer in Stockholm. New England Historical and Gen- ealogical Register, Vol. 55. Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly, Vol. 10. Old Northwest Genealogical Quar- terly, Vol. 4. Ontario Historical Society, Papers and Records, Vols. 2 and 3. Out West, Vol. 16.....	The Author. New England Historical and Genealogical Society. Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society. Old Northwest Genealogical Society. The Society. The Editor. The Editors.
	Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 16. Preliminary Report, Income Ac- count of Railways in the United States, years ending June 30, 1899, June 30, 1900, June 30, 1901.	Interstate Commerce Com- mission.
H. M. Bowman.....	Preliminary Stages of the Peace of Amlens. University of Toronto Studies, History, Second Series, Vol. I, pp. 77-165. President's Report, Yale Universi- ty, 1900-1901. Proceedings of Forty-eighth and Forty-ninth Annual Meeting, Wisconsin Historical Society. Proceedings, New Hampshire His- torical Society, Vols. 1 and 2. Proceedings of the Oregon Histori- cal Society, 1900. Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Meeting of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas.	University of Toronto Lib- rary. The University. The Society. The Society. The Society. Daughters of the Republic of Texas.
Gen. Samuel W. Price.....	Old Masters of the Blue Grass. Filson Club Publications, No. 17.	The Club.
Edmund J. James.....	Publications Illinois State Histori- cal Library, No. III. Id. No. IV. Publications of the Louisiana His- torical Society, Feb. 1900. Publications of the Mississippi His- torical Society, Vols. 4 and 5. Publications of the Rhode Island Historical Society, Vols. 7 and 8. Publications of the Southern His- torical Association, Vols. 4 and 5.	The Library. The Society. The Society. The Society. The Association.

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	Public Papers of George Clinton, First Governor of New York, Vols. 3, 4, and 5.	New York Historical Society.
J. V. Browder.....	Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, Vol. 2 and Supplement.	The Society.
	Quivira.....	The Author.
	Records of American Catholic Historical Society, Vol. 12.	The Society.
Rev. E. J. P. Schmitt.....	Records of the Parish of St. Francis Xavier at Post Vincennes, Ind., 1749-1773. Translated from the French.	Miss Adina de Zavala.
Charles A. Flagg } Judson T. Jennings }	Reference List of Connecticut Local History.	New York State Library.
	Report of Librarian of Yale University, 1900-1901.	The University.
George M. Wrong.....	Review of Historical Publications for years 1899-1901, relating to Canada. University of Toronto Studies. First Series, Vols. 4, 5, and 6.	
Lester G. Bugbee.....	Slavery in Early Texas.....	The Author.
	South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine, Vol. 2.	South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Society.
	Southern Historical Society Papers, Vol. 29.	The Society.
Zoeth S. Eldridge.....	Spanish Archives of California.....	The Author.
Hon. L. Bradford Prince...	Statehood for New Mexico.....	The Author.
	Stone Idols of New Mexico.....	Hon. L. Bradford Prince.
J. O. Harris	Synoptical Sketch of the Texas War of Independence.	The Author.
Lester G. Bugbee.....	Texas Frontier, 1830-1835.....	The Author.
E. G. Littlejohn.....	Texas History Stories, 1, 2, 3, 4.....	The Publishers.
	Texas School Journal, Vol. 16.....	The Publisher.
	Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society 1901.	The Illinois State Historical Library.
	Transactions of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, 1892-1898, 1898-1900, Nos. 22 and 23.	The Society.
	Transactions of the Texas Academy of Science, Vol. 4.	The Academy.
Albert Schutze.....	Travis County Annual, 1901.....	The Author.
L. H. Tasker.....	United Empire Loyalist Settlement at Long Point, Lake Erie.	Ontario Historical Society.
	University of California Chronicle, 1901, Vol. 4.	The University.
	University of Nebraska Calendar, 1900-1901.	The University.
	University of Tennessee Record, Vol. 4.	The University.
	University of Texas Bulletin, No. 1.	The University.
	University of Texas Record, Vol. 3.	The University.
Louis González Obregón...	Vida y Obras de Don José Fernando Ramírez.	The Author.
P. B. Casgrain.....	Vie de Joseph-François Perrault...	The Author.
	Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Vols. 8 and 9.	Virginia Historical Society.
	William and Mary College Quarterly, Vols. 9 and 10.	The Editor.
	Wisconsin State Historical Library Building, Memorial Volume.	Wisconsin Historical Society.
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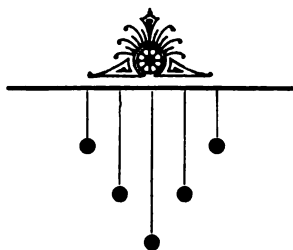
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THE MEXICAN AND INDIAN RAID OF '78.....	
THE QUARREL BETWEEN GOVERNOR SMITH AND THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC.....	W. Roy Smith
GENEALOGICAL AND HISTORICAL REGISTER OF THE FIRST GENERAL OFFICERS OF THE DAUGHTERS OF THE REPUBLIC OF TEXAS, ELECTED IN 1891.....	Mrs. Adele B. Looscan

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EUGENE C. BARKER, Business Manager,

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A summary of Regent and Faculty legislation;
a record of University events; articles of special
and general interest written by members of the
Faculty, officers, alumni and friends of the
institution ❖ ❖ ❖ ❖ ❖ ❖ ❖

The current number of the RECORD will contain a resume of the happenings of Commencement week: The address delivered before the classes on Commencement day by Judge Frank C. Dillard, of Sherman; the address delivered before the Alumni Association by W. H. Atwell; the lecture delivered before the Medical Club of the Medical Department by Dr. R. G. Curtin of Philadelphia; reports of President and Faculties, and other matters of great moment to the alumni and student body.

Each number of the RECORD contains about a hundred pages. The subscription price is one dollar a year.

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Austin, Texas.

VOLUME VI.

OCTOBER, 1902.

NUMBER 2.

THE QUARTERLY OF THE TEXAS STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

PUBLICATION COMMITTEE.

JOHN H. REAGAN.

GEORGE P. GARRISON.

BRIDE NEILL TAYLOR.

Z. T. FULMORE.

C. W. RAINES.

EDITOR.

GEORGE P. GARRISON.

CONTENTS.

THE SOUTHWEST BOUNDARY OF TEXAS.....	I. J. Cox.
SOME MATERIALS FOR SOUTHWESTERN HISTORY IN THE ARCHIVO GENERAL DE MEXICO.....	Herbert Eugene Bolton.
REMINISCENCES OF C. C. COX.	
AN ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF SAN JACINTO.....	James Washington Winters.
THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE IN TEXAS....	Eugene C. Barker.
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THE SOUTHWEST BOUNDARY OF TEXAS.

I. J. COX.

As no State of the American Union can compare with Texas in extent of territory, so no State has greater historical interest and importance attached to its boundaries. From the time when La Salle made his unfortunate landing upon its coast until the Supreme Court made its recent decision concerning Greer county, the limits of Texas have been unsettled. Disputes arising from this fact have been the cause of costly *entradas*, of interminable wrangling by colonial officials, of long and fruitless diplomatic correspondence terminating in unsatisfactory compromise, and of hostile expeditions ending in overwhelming defeat or inglorious victory. The intensity of feeling aroused by these disputes has threatened to disrupt the Union itself, and their solution has prefigured the destiny of the whole continent.

The most interesting and important of the boundaries of Texas is that on the southwest. Neither the eastern, the scene of a century's wrangle between Spanish and French, of the "neutral ground" agreement of 1806, and of the unsatisfactory treaty of 1819; nor the far northwestern, linked with memories of the ill-fated Santa Fé expedition and of the stirring days of the compromise of 1850, can compare with it in the number and variety of questions involved in their settlement. A direct, although possibly

secondary, cause of the only war waged by the American people for territorial aggrandizement,¹ it has marked for more than half a century the advance line of Anglo-Saxon domination upon this continent. In view of its past importance and of its present significance, a survey of its development, from a somewhat different standpoint than the usual one, may be not only admissible, but profitable.

For this survey, it must be acknowledged that the documents are neither so numerous nor so weighty as would be desirable; nor is the reason for this hard to discover. Previous to the revolt of Mexico from Spain the frontier settlements were so widely separated from each other that it was not necessary to limit strictly the boundaries of the provinces in which they were established. Nevertheless, there was a sort of delimitation in every case, and it is the aim of the writer to trace briefly this delimitation, in order to show its bearing upon subsequent boundary claims.

By the end of the seventeenth century the northeastern provinces of Nueva España were Nuevo Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya (Chihuahua), Nueva Estremadura (Coahuila), and Nuevo Reino de Leon. Texas had been visited and portions of it traversed by exploring parties during the two previous centuries; and more recently, during the closing years of the seventeenth century, it had been the scene of three *entradas*, which mark the true beginning of Texas history. But a quarter century was to elapse before the territory should be raised to the dignity of a compound name and of a separate provincial government. A half century was to pass, before the last of the provinces bordering on Texas, Nuevo Santander (Tamaulipas), was to be pacified and organized. The four provinces first named at that time constituted the frontier buffer provinces, opposing the tribes of savages then wandering at will over the territory of Nuevo Santander and Texas.

Of the rivers destined to play an important part in the ultimate settlement of the boundaries of these provinces, the most important is the Rio Grande. This river rises in Colorado and flows southward through New Mexico, where it bore, in the days when the

¹With this statement and others of similar drift in this article the reader should compare the argument of Judge Fulmore in *The Annexation of Texas and the Mexican War*, THE QUARTERLY, V 28-48.—EDITOR QUARTERLY.

Spanish first became familiar with it, the name of "Rio del Norte." In its middle course it was called the "Rio Grande"; while further towards its mouth, where it flowed through the country inhabited wholly by wild Indians (*Indios bravos*), it took the name of "Rio Bravo," or sometimes, doubtless from color of its water, that of "Rio Turbio."¹ The second of these rivers in importance is the Nueces, crossed and named in the *entrada* of General Alonzo de Leon in 1689.² Two years later, at the time of the *entrada* of Domingo Teran, the name of the river was changed to San Diego.³ By the time of Ramon's expedition, in 1716, the name of Rio de las Nueces⁴ had been restored, and it remained thenceforth the designation of the stream. The third most important river, the Medina, was also named during the expedition of Alonzo de Leon. The day before the arrival of his command at the Nueces, he makes mention of an "*Arte de Navegar*," which was written by "el Maestro Medina."⁵ Whether there was any connection between the name of the master navigator and that of the river is uncertain; but, at any rate, the river was named during this expedition. Of the three, the Medina is the smallest, and yet for more than a century it was designated as the official boundary between Texas and Coahuila, while the one next in importance, the Nueces, was to answer the same purpose for the provinces of Nuevo Santander and Texas. The largest of the three, the Rio Grande, plays no part in the determination of boundaries, so long as Spanish or Mexican authorities control the limits of the provinces concerned. To one familiar with the natural advantages of the Rio Grande as a boundary, it must seem strange that it was not at once selected as the divisional line between Texas and its southern neighbors. To this principle of the selection of natural delimitations, two things were opposed: first, the Spanish method of limiting frontier provinces; and, second, the conquest and pacification of Nuevo Santander, in 1748, by General José

¹Altamira, *Testimonio de un Parecer*, in Yoakum's *History of Texas*, I 385. *Discovery of the Bay of Espiritu Santo*, THE QUARTERLY, II 254.

²Derrotero de Alonzo de Leon, 3 vta., in *Colección de Memorias de Nueva España*, 27

³Teran, *Descripcion y Diaria Demarocacion*, etc., 26 vta., *ibid*.

⁴Informe de Domingo Ramon, 144, *ibid*.

⁵See note 2. Also No. 28088, Bulletin Trimestriel, No. 27, Juin-Juillet 1901. Librairie Ch. Chadenat, Paris.

Escandón. The former affected the boundary with Coahuila, and the latter that with the newly pacified province.

When these new provinces were formed from territory formerly occupied by Indians, it seems to have been the policy of the authorities of Nueva España to limit in a general way the boundaries of each with its neighbors, on the south, west, and east, so far as it had neighbors, while on the north they indicated no more definite confines than those afforded by the "many barbarous nations," or the "gentile Indians."¹ Such we may conceive to have been the early method of designating the northern boundaries of Nueva Vizcaya and Nueva Estremadura. From the former province the line of growth to the north led by way of the Rio Grande valley. From the latter the march of Spanish civilization moved across the Rio Grande, the Nueces, the Medina, and so on towards the east. As the province of Nueva Vizcaya became too extended for a single government, a new one, Nuevo Mexico, was formed; and, likewise, with the extension of Coahuila, Texas assumed the dignity of a separate province under military rule. The question of the southern boundary of each of these new provinces was easily determined. The southernmost garrison of Nuevo Mexico was that of the royal *presidio* of the Pass (El Paso). This was immediately upon the Rio Grande del Norte; therefore, that river, as it begins to turn towards the east at that point, should constitute the boundary between Nuevo Mexico and Nueva Vizcaya. For the time it would be unnecessary to define the boundaries at any other point, because the only settlements were in the Rio Grande valley, around the rude civilization of which stretched a desert, not merely of sand, but also of savagery.

The settlement of the new province of Texas or Nuevas Filipinas² nearest the City of Mexico was the *presidio* of San Antonio

¹The former is the designation for the northern limit of Texas, in *Memorias de Nueva España*, 28 162 *vta.*, and the latter for the western, northern, and eastern of Nuevo Mexico, in Altamira's *Testimonio de un Parecer*. See Yoakum, I 385.

²The double name appears February 9, 1716, in *Relacion del Sargento Mayor Don Martin de Alarcon, Memorias de Nueva España*, 27 444 *vta.* In *Representacion hecha por los R. R. Pads Misioneros*, July 22, 1716, *Memorias de Nueva España*, 27 163 *vta.*, occurs this expression, "We have conceived, most excellent Sir, great hopes that this province will be a New Philippine (Nueva Filipina)."

de Bexar, founded in 1718,¹ as a protection to the mission on the San Antonio river. The small garrison at this point could control, in a fairly satisfactory manner, the country as far west as the next important natural dividing line, the Medina river. This, accordingly, would be taken as the southwest boundary of the new province. By 1700 Coahuila had extended her military posts near to the right bank of the Rio Grande, where the *presidio* of San Juan Bautista was established. A few years later her missions were also established upon the left bank.² Thus both banks of the Rio Grande belonged to Coahuila by right of actual settlement, and the unoccupied territory between the Rio Grande and the Medina seems to have been transferred to her bodily, as being the older province. The Medina is distinctly called the boundary line between the two provinces, April 4, 1721, by the Marqués de Aguayo. Very likely it had been so designated previous to his journey, or this would not have been stated so simply, without some word of explanation; as, to quote his words, "entering the province of the Texas, Nuevas Filipinas, which the river Medina divides from the province of Coahuila, Nueva Estremadura."³ Such a statement from the man who was governor of both provinces may be regarded as both disinterested and official. In a similar manner, doubtless by right of previous independent organization, Nueva Vizcaya and Nuevo Mexico extended their territory far east of the Rio Grande, and for more than a century and a quarter their claims were recognized by the Spanish authorities of Texas, as well as those of the other immediate provinces and of the general government. Thus Texas was to remain shut away from the upper Rio Grande, until a force stronger than documentary evidence should enter into the solution of the question.

The fact has been mentioned that the Medina was called the

¹Talamantes, *Historia . . . de Texas hasta el año de 1730*, Par. 22. *Historia* 43, Archivo General.

²This was the case of Mision de San Francisco Solano, afterwards transferred to the San Antonio and renamed Mision de San Antonio de Valero. Talamantes, Par. 22. Portilla: *Apuntes para la Historia Antigua de Coahuila y Texas*, 292 et seq.

³*Diario del Viaje de Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo in Memorias de Nueva España*, 28 11. It is interesting to note how the simpler native name of the province has survived in each of these two cases, as well as in most of the others.

boundary between Texas and Coahuila by the Marqués de Aguayo in the account of his expedition in 1721. Other writers bear similar testimony during this early period. The evidence they present is of two kinds; that the Medina is the boundary between the two provinces in question, and that the Rio Grande flows through territory wholly within other provinces than Texas. In speaking of the province of Coahuila, the Marqués de Altamira says,¹ "Next to Nuevo Reino de Leon comes the province and subject people [*governacion*] of Coahuila or Nueva Estremadura, in length from south to north more than a hundred and twenty leagues, to the river of Medina, where begins the adjacent last province and subject people [*governacion*] of ours of Texas or Nuevas Filipinas." In speaking of the territory between the Rio Grande and the San Antonio, he says,² "From the said *presidio* of San Juan Bautista of the Rio Grande to that of San Antonio de Bejar or Valero (which latter is six leagues within the province of Texas), there intervene another seventy leagues without a single settlement in all their circumference." The distance from the Medina to the *presidio* of San Antonio is uniformly given as six leagues; thus it will be observed that sixty-four leagues, or a full half of the length of Coahuila, lay on the left side of the Rio Grande. Again, in describing Texas itself, he says,³ "From the said river of Medina at which begins the said province of Texas to the *presidio* de los Adays at which it ends, its length from south to north is about two hundred and forty leagues, and its width from the west to the Mexican Gulf about eighty." Thus he makes three different statements about the boundary of Texas and in all of them the Medina is expressly mentioned.

In describing the course of the Rio Grande he shows with equal clearness that no part of it touches territory belonging to Texas. His description of the course of the river is interesting.⁴ "From this province of Nuevo Mexico descends the river named del Norte, which, coming directly towards the south, runs close to the said capital of Santa Fé, and to the royal *presidio* of the Pass, which

¹*Testimonio de un Parecer*, Yoakum, I 384.

²*Ibid.*, 387.

³*Ibid.*, 389.

⁴*Ibid.*, 385.

has been mentioned. Afterwards it turns to the east and cuts off a portion of Nueva Vizcaya, whence it receives the Concho river. It traverses then the middle portion of the province of Coahuila, passing three leagues beyond its *presidio* of San Juan Bautista, called from it that of the Rio Grande.¹ * * * It continues still to the east, crossing twenty leagues beyond the frontier of the said Nuevo Reino, and from its *presidio* of Serralvo, it discharges its waters with the name of Rio Bravo, through lands of gentile Indians unknown to us." This description was written four years before the pacification of Nuevo Santander began. It will be observed that the Rio Grande, under its various names, is represented as passing through Nuevo Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Coahuila, while it is twenty leagues distant from the nearest *presidio* of Nuevo Leon, the smallest of these provinces, with a length of one hundred leagues and a width of about twenty. This fact is important in determining the later boundaries of this province, after the conquests of Escandón in Nuevo Santander. Nuevo Leon, today, remains shut off from the Rio Grande by its neighbors, Coahuila and Tamaulipas, while Texas, then in the same condition, has acquired nearly all of the left bank of that river, and has received more than an equitable compensation for the remainder.

The authorities already quoted seem of sufficient official weight to form the basis for a tolerably certain opinion; but, in addition, it is possible to quote the testimony of the cosmographer of the Kingdom of New Spain. His utterances concerning the boundaries of Texas and Coahuila are equally as definite as those above quoted. "This extensive country [Texas]² has its beginning from the river of Medina, which is the dividing line between the province of Coahuila and the former, which extends between the north and east, in the direction of northeast, for more than two hundred and twenty leagues in length, and more than seventy in width." * * * Nueva Estremadura follows to the north-northwest of Nuevo Reino

¹See note 2, p. 86.

²D. Joseph Antonio de Villa Señor y Sanchez, *Theatro Americano*, II 320. The author is described as "Contador General de la Real Contaduria de Azogues, y Cosmographo de este Reyno," and the work was written by order of the viceroy, Fuen-Clara. The first volume appeared in 1746, and the second two years later. (See Cavo, *Tres Siglos de Mexico*.)

de Leon, and its boundaries run to the river of Medina, which is its terminus for the north."¹

By comparing the dimensions of Texas, as given above, with those previously given for Coahuila and Nuevo Leon, it will be seen that they are far broader. Nueva Vizcaya at the same time had a length of about one hundred and eighty leagues, while the distance from the royal *presidio* of El Paso to Santa Fé allowed a length of about one hundred and thirty leagues only for New Mexico,² the scattered settlements of which were hemmed in by unsubdued Indians. Although the extensive province of Texas at that time contained only four widely scattered settlements,³ all writers agree in stating that its resources were sufficient to maintain a vast population. So it follows that, even if restricted to the Medina as its western boundary, it possessed more territory, and territory of a greater value, than any of its neighbors.

From the above excerpts it will be seen that three Spanish officials, high in authority, had in the course of twenty-five years previous to 1748, made separate statements concerning the southwest boundary of Texas, and that all had concurred in placing it at the Medina. It seems only reasonable to say that we are justified in assuming that this river was the officially recognized boundary, at that time, between Texas and Coahuila, and that this delimitation was commonly accepted by the people of the two provinces.⁴ It remains only to fix the boundaries of Texas below the province of Coahuila. This question was settled by the pacification of the savage Indians of the coast, by General José Escandón, between the years 1748 and 1755. Texas acquired a new neighbor, Nuevo Santander; a new limit in that quarter, the Nueces; and her western boundary, at least for a Spanish province, may be regarded as fairly complete.

The *junta general* of war and finance had authorized Escandón to conquer "a hundred leagues or more from south to north and about seventy or eighty from east to west on the coast of the Mexi-

¹*Theatro Americano*, II 306.

²Altamira, Yoakum, I 384.

³*Theatro Americano*, II 320.

⁴Yoakum, I 77, says, "At this period the Medina seems to be well understood as the western limit of Texas."

can Gulf, occupied by the many barbarous, gentile, and apostate nations." Possibly these dimensions were not to be closely adhered to, and, indeed, it is doubtful if the government authorities in Mexico knew precisely what territory the above distances would include. In order to make the matter more certain they defined the limits of the new province by means of those already existing. On the north the territory to be conquered by Escandón was to be limited "by the kingdom of the aforesaid government of Coahuila and the beginning of the province of Texas."¹

In December, 1748, Escandón left Querétaro to accomplish his mission, with a force of seven hundred and fifty, afterwards increased to twenty-five hundred by levies from various parts of Nueva España, including Nuevo Leon and Coahuila. His expedition was not wholly warlike, for he was to found missions and villages, wherever the situation or the people promised success to the venture. Before starting out he had selected such places as he could from the data in his possession, and had marked them on a map. This map was approved by the authorities who had authorized his expedition, and it worth while to note that a place for a settlement had been designated on the left bank of both the Nueces and the San Antonio. Thus it was clearly implied that in order to extend his territory to the confines of Texas, he must conquer the territory beyond the Rio Grande.²

A very important reason for the extension of Escandón's conquests beyond the Rio Grande was the fact that a strip of territory about two hundred leagues wide, through which the river ran, was the favorite hunting ground of the Apaches and Lipans, forming "a pouch (*bolsa*) of land between New Mexico, Texas, and Coahuila"³ and extending nearly to the mouth of the Rio Grande. The authorities of Nuevo Leon and Coahuila either could not subdue these savages, or else had not taken the trouble to do so. Escandón's expedition offered a fitting opportunity to accomplish this necessary preliminary to the settlement of this vast region. In his first plan for the conquest of Nuevo Santander, he had proposed

¹Prieto, *Historia, Geografica y Estadistica del Estado de Tamaulipas*, 40. The author says that the above extracts were taken from *Colección de Memorias de Nueva España*, 29.

²*Ibid.*, 135 note.

³Carta of Ximenes, *Colección de Memorias de Nueva España*, 28 199.

the founding of fourteen settlements, three of which were to be beyond the Rio Grande. The royal *audiencia* of the City of Mexico approved of his plans, amplified his powers, and gave him permission to found the new settlements.¹ Already, in 1749, he had sent a detachment of his forces from Coahuila across the Rio Bravo at San Juan Bautista, with orders to proceed to the mouth of the Nueces and the bay of Espíritu Santo. He also gave orders to Captain Bastera, then in command of the troops at that point, to proceed to form a settlement at a suitable place on the left bank of the Nueces.² He also proposed to remove the *presidio* from the bay of Espíritu Santo near to Camargo, where it would be more useful against the warlike Lipans and Apaches. By the next year, however, Escandón learned that the place selected on the Nueces was not suitable for a settlement, and after eight months of hardships, the prospective settlers were located below the Rio Bravo, where they formed the villa of Soto la Marina.³

In sending this expedition beyond the Rio Grande, Escandón had, in a measure, exercised control over the territory crossed, and with the approval of the Mexican authorities, although not to the extent of actual settlement. The latter was accomplished indirectly by him through private enterprise. In 1750 there was established, on the left bank of the Rio Grande, a *hacienda* of considerable importance, called Dolores. The founder of this, Don José Vasquez Borrego, on learning of Escandón's conquests and that his settlement was within the limits assigned the latter, presented himself to that leader in the villa Santander and offered his co-operation in subduing the territory on the far side of the Bravo. Escandón accepted his offer, appointed him captain and administrator of that portion of the colony, and gave him fifty *sitios* of land for pasturage. Four years later the settlement, Dolores, had a population of a hundred and twenty-five.⁴

Towards the end of 1754, another *hacendado* of Coahuila, Don Tomás Sánchez by name, crossed the Bravo and established himself about ten leagues to the north of Dolores. Sánchez also proposed

¹Prieto, 160, 161.

²Ibid., 135.

³Ibid., 167.

⁴Ibid., 175.

to Escandón to found a new pueblo on the left bank of that river, in a place he had selected. Escandón agreed to this, but as he had previously attempted a settlement on the Nueces, he wished Sánchez first to undertake one there. Sánchez visited the Nueces, but returning reported to Borrego, at Dolores, that he could not find a suitable place for a settlement, and that unless he could form his settlement on the Bravo, he should desist entirely from the enterprise. Borrego, to whom Escandón had left the ultimate decision, then permitted Sánchez to form his settlement in the desired locality. Thus, May 15, 1755, was founded the villa of Laredo, ten leagues from Dolores.¹

In this manner was accomplished the pacification and settlement of the colony of Nuevo Santander. In 1755 Escandón retired to Querétaro, there to make out a statistical report of all that he had done and of the places founded by him.² By his vigorous work he had extended his conquests, not only along the coast of the gulf of Mexico, but also up both banks of the Bravo, so that the limits of his colony touched Coahuila on the west, near the villa of Laredo, and Texas on the north, with the Nueces as the accepted boundary line, officially established by a royal *cédula* of 1805. By extending his conquests into the Apache country, although by no means entirely subduing the Indians, together with the founding of the settlements mentioned above, he had effectually deprived Nuevo Leon of territory bordering on the Rio Grande, and had made one less neighbor for Texas on the southwest.

The remaining years of Spanish domination brought no special changes in the boundaries of Texas, the documentary evidence of this period simply confirming the limits already roughly laid down. A letter of 1762 thus describes them: "This vast province of Texas is found at a distance of three hundred and sixty leagues, more or less, from the City of Mexico, on a line drawn to the north-northeast; it borders on the south the colony of the Mexican Gulf, although there remains on this and other boundaries much uninhabited land. On the west-southwest [it borders] the province of Coahuila; on the west-northwest, Sonora [Chihuahua?]; on the

¹Prieto, 188.

²Ibid., 189. This report is found in Sección de Historia, 55, Archivo General, City of Mexico.

northwest, Nuevo Mexico. On the north it is not found to have other confines than those of the many barbarous nations."¹

In 1767 and 1768 Fr. Gaspar José de Solís made a *visita* to the missions of the province of Texas. In the course of his travels along the Rio Grande he had occasion to send some Indians who were without instruction in the holy faith to the curate of the villa of Laredo. On the following day he arrived at the *hacienda* Dolores of Don Joseph Borrego, on the bank of the Rio del Norte, which *hacienda* "belongs to the government of Nuevo Santander of the Mexican Gulf."² At the time of a later visit to the Rio Grande, the same year, 1768, he speaks of Laredo as a "foundation of Colonel Don Joseph Escandón, belonging to the government of Nuevo Santander."

The *Breve Compendio* of Bonilla is justly regarded as one of the best authorities upon the early history of Texas. In this work the Medina is represented as the place where the government of Coahuila ends and that of Texas begins. The length of the latter province is given as about two hundred and forty leagues and its width as eighty.³

Another important work for early Texas history is Morfi's *Memorias para la Historia de Tejas*. In this the extent and boundaries of the province are thus given:

"It is distant from Mexico about three hundred and sixty leagues, more or less, to the north-northeast. On the south it begins at the bay of Espíritu Santo, which is, with little variation, in 33 degrees north latitude, and extends to the north as far as the town of San Teodoro de los Taovayas, occupying a space of more than two hundred and fifty leagues from north to south. It has the same or a little greater extent from east to west, from the river Medina, which separates it from Coahuila as far as the abandoned *presidio* de los Adaes, where it joins Louisiana. It is bounded on the south by the gulf of Mexico; on the east by Louisiana and English colonies; on the north, north-northwest, and northwest by Nuevo Mexico and unexplored lands; and on the west by the provinces of Coa-

¹Carta de Fr. Francisco Xavier Ortiz, 1762, *Memorias de Nueva España*, 162 *vta.*

²See his *Diario*, Historia, 27 253 and *vta.*, also 295.

³*Breve Compendio*, Par. 1, Historia, 27 1 and *vta.*

huila, Nuevo Reino de Leon, and [the] colony of Santander.”¹ In speaking of the rivers, Morfi says, “The river Medina, the dividing boundary between the provinces of Coahuila and Texas, has its source in the same direction. * * * It runs twenty-seven leagues and unites with the San Antonio.”²

Father Morfi had gathered the material for his work upon Texas in the course of a tour of inspection in company with the commanding general of the recently created Provincias Internas. In the course of their journey, they cross the various rivers forming the boundaries of Texas, and he thus describes them:

“The river de las Nueces rises in the canyon of San Saba, runs north and south, with some inclination to the east, until it is united with the Frio river, in whose company it empties into the Mexican Gulf, about one hundred leagues from the mouth of the Rio Grande and twenty from that of the San Antonio, and scarcely touching the colony of Nuevo Santander. It forms the dividing line of that province and that of Texas. * * * The founding of a settlement upon the banks of this river, in the most suitable place, would be a matter of great importance, equally for the correspondence of the provinces of Texas and Coahuila, situated as it is midway between them, as well as for impeding the Lipan and Comanche Indians from the free entrance which this desert country of eighty leagues offers them, to Nuevo Reino de Leon and the colony of Santander, where they have already committed various outrages.”³

The language of the above extract is rather ambiguous in one respect. In speaking of a new settlement on the Nueces does the worthy friar imply that he considered the Nueces a better boundary for Coahuila and Texas than the Medina, then recognized as such? At any rate he joins in with the others in giving the Medina as the boundary in the following words:

¹Bk. I, Par. 2. This work has never been published.

²Ibid. The mistake of the worthy Father in saying that Nuevo Leon touched the western boundary of Texas is a natural one for a traveler to make in considering the relative position of these provinces as viewed from the South. It has already been explained why Nuevo Leon did not extend to the Texas border.

³Morfi, *Viaje de Indios y Diario del Nuevo Mexico*, 452, in *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, 2nd series, vol. I.

"At half-past one we arrived at the river of Medina, the divisional line of the provinces of Coahuila and Texas."¹

The *comandante general* of the Provincias Internas, the Caballero de Croix, thus expresses himself concerning the Nueces boundary:

"The *presidio* of Bahía del Espíritu Santo with the mission of the same name, and that of Rosario constitute the second jurisdiction of this province [Texas], which is found upon the coast of the Mexican Gulf [extending] from the mouth of the river Nueces, which separates it from the colony of Nuevo Santander."²

As both of these provinces were in the jurisdiction of the *comandante*, he could have no motive for extending or retrenching the boundaries of either. His testimony, therefore, would be even stronger than that of Father Morfi and other writers wholly unconnected with the provinces.

In 1787 there came a report from an expedition sent to explore the coasts of Nuevo Santander. It recommended the establishment of a post at the mouth of the Rio Grande, for the encouragement of the settlement of that region. It mentions the fact that the expedition had visited Camargo, Laredo, and other towns in the colony of Nuevo Santander.³ The correspondent remits a map to the viceroy, but unfortunately this map, as is generally the case with those drawn to illustrate Spanish documents, does not, at the present time, accompany the report.

With so much external evidence concerning the boundaries of the province, it would be strange if none could be produced from within Texas itself. However, even this is not lacking. In 1770, the *cabildo* and residents of San Fernando (the nucleus of the modern San Antonio) made a representation of their grievous situation to Governor Ripperdá, in which appears the following statement:

"This province is composed of nine missions and four *presidios*
* * * whose jurisdiction starts from the river of Medina, which

¹Morfi, *Viaje de Indios y Diario del Nuevo Mexico*, 457.

²Report of de Croix, Chihuahua, September 23, 1778, in *Expediente Sobre Comercio*, Historia 43, Archivo General.

³El Conde de la Sierra Gorda to Viceroy Flores, June 19, 1787, Historia 43, Archivo General.

divides it from that of Coahuila, and runs more than two hundred leagues to the east, to the Adaes."¹

Later in the same document the statement is made concerning the uselessness of a new villa, not far from San Saba and San Javier, and under the dominion of Coahuila.

Seven years later Governor Ripperdá, in writing to de Croix about certain Indians speaks of them as inhabiting "other islands [extending] as far as the mouth of the Rio Grande del Norte in the colony of Nuevo Santander."²

Having in view this mass of testimony from the inhabitants of the province, and from its civil, military, and ecclesiastical authorities, one wonders at the statement of Bancroft³ that Morfi is unsupported in giving the Medina as the boundary of Texas and Coahuila. If the friar is mistaken, he certainly errs with a goodly company. Bancroft further says that it is hard to determine why the Medina, rather than the Nueces or Hondo, is uniformly spoken of as the boundary of Texas. As we have already seen, it certainly is so mentioned, and uniformly, too, by every writer who speaks of the subject. And when we consider the Spanish method of beginning a new province with a natural boundary near its first settlement, it is not strange that the Medina and Nueces were thus selected for Texas; especially since, when thus restricted, it comprised more territory than any of its neighbors. It is true, in the early days, that the settlements of Coahuila and Nuevo Santander clung to the Rio Grande valley, while those of Texas remained above the Nueces and Medina, leaving the intervening space to the Lipans and Apaches. Thus there was little need for fixed boundaries, and yet these are always expressed in tolerably certain terms. By the close of the century, however, the prospect of clashing land grants bestirred the Spanish authorities to a more accurate delimitation of the three territories involved. By a royal *cédula* of 1805, "the western boundary of Texas began at the mouth of the Rio Nueces, thence up that river to its junction with Moros creek, thence in a northeasterly direction to near the Garza crossing of the Medina river, thence up that river to its source, thence in a direct

¹Representación to Ripperdá, July 7, 1770, Historia 28, Archivo General.

²Ripperdá to de Croix, April 27, 1777. Historia 28, Archivo General.

³*North American States and Texas*, I 604.

line to the source of the San Saba river, thence northwesterly to the intersection of the 103rd meridian of west longitude and the 32nd parallel of north latitude, thence northeasterly to the intersection of the Red River by the 100th meridian, thence down said river."¹

In more carefully delimiting the western boundary of Texas, the Spanish authorities at Madrid were but following the general limits that had been recognized for nearly a century. Our old friends, the Medina and the Nueces are still much in evidence. A map by Humboldt, appearing about the same time and following the same general lines, was later used in the compromise of 1850.

By the transfer of Louisiana to the United States in 1803, a new factor was introduced into the solution of Texas boundary questions, and one destined seriously to change the royal utterance of 1805. The United States immediately set up the claim that Texas belonged to Louisiana—a claim, it is said, inspired by the wish of Jefferson to extend our frontier to include the site of La Salle's colony, "the cradle of Louisiana."² But, whatever may have been the source of the claim, it certainly was untenable, for it utterly ignored the Spanish right by virtue of the occupation of Texas from 1715 to 1762—a thing not done by the French, from whom we bought the territory. At any rate, Mr. J. Q. Adams, our secretary of state, was glad to resign vague claims to Texas in return for a more substantial title to the lands of Florida. What had been the subject of fruitless claim, the United States later tried to obtain by purchase from Mexico. Adams, when president, sent Poinsett with instructions to obtain as much of Texas as possible, by proposing a series of boundaries of which the Rio Grande was the most westerly, thus passing greatly beyond the old limits of the province of Texas.³ His efforts, however, were unavailing. Jackson sent by the United States *chargé d'affaires*, Butler, an offer of an extra half million, if the boundary were extended to the Pacific.⁴ His labor was equally fruitless. The Mexican authorities were too

¹THE QUARTERLY, I 14.

²Jefferson to M. Bowdoin, July 10, 1806. Quoted in *Mexique et le Texas*.

³Von Holst, *Constitutional History of the United States, 1828-46*, 553-554. Bancroft, *Mexico*, V 322.

⁴Von Holst, *ibid.*, 566.

proud to sell and too well versed in their own rights, derived from the Spanish occupation of the territory in question, to acknowledge the vague claims of the United States, based only on La Salle's luckless voyage. The claim of the United States, however, had succeeded in one great purpose, and that was in creating the impression amongst our own citizens that in the cession of our claims to Texas, we gave up something to which we were justly entitled. Certain public men gave utterance to this opinion, and their belief has survived even to our day. The proud persistence of the Mexican government in refusing any reasonable proposition for the purchase of this territory, tended to increase the intensity of this feeling.

While diplomacy, backed by untenable claims and boundless resources, was attempting its unfruitful task, a movement was taking shape that promised to result in a more definite and permanent solution of the whole question. It was the coming into Texas of the Anglo-American pioneers—the same stock that had crossed the Alleghanies, conquered the Northwest Territory, and made inevitable the sale of Louisiana by the United States. Flushed with these successes, they came to add, on the plains of southwest Texas, another chapter to the history of their romantic achievements.

In 1821 Mexico became an independent power, of which, under the Constitution of 1824, first Nuevo Leon, Coahuila, and Texas, and then Coahuila and Texas alone formed a single State. In this dual state the department of Bexar was to include the territory of the former province of Texas.¹ The union of these provinces was a return to the historic connection that had existed between them previous to 1725, and was doubtless designed to neutralize the effects of the Anglo-American immigration, then beginning to make itself felt. Very likely it was thought that Coahuila, as the older and stronger of the two, would lead her sister province through the various processes of Spanish-American development into complete Mexican statehood. But in the department of Bexar there was now an element that strongly objected to leading of any sort, unless it were itself in the saddle, and facing toward the American Union.

For the most part there are but few references to boundary questions during the years from 1821 to 1836, but these uniformly follow the lines laid down during the previous century. In 1824 a

¹Constitution of Coahuila and Texas, Art. 7.

proclamation concerning some stolen goods is issued for the information of the inhabitants of Laredo and other places belonging to the State of Tamaulipas (Nuevo Santander).¹ The authorities of Bexar grant land and acknowledge sales on the Cibolo, the Atascosa, and the Medina; but there is no record of such transactions being legalized beyond the Nueces.² The *alcabala* records of the same period, and even up to the eve of the Texas Revolution, contain the names of residents of Laredo, in the State of Tamaulipas, who pay duties on goods introduced by them into the city of San Fernando.³ These few extracts will serve to show that the Mexican inhabitants of Bexar still recognized the claims of Tamaulipas to territory as far as the Nueces. Bustamente⁴ says that few Anglo-American settlers did the same during this period. As a matter of fact none of their earlier grants, nor either of the departments largely settled by them, extended far enough to the west to make them interested in the matter.

In 1834 Colonel Juan N. Almonte was commissioned by Santa Anna to visit Texas and to report upon its readiness for statehood. In the description of his journey to Texas, he has occasion to say that "the most disagreeable part of the journey is the space that intervenes between the Rio Grande and Bexar," still an unsettled wilderness—the roaming ground of the Lipans and Apaches—as had been reported a century before. But long ere another century should pass a far different report of this region could be given.

Almonte's utterance upon the boundary of Texas is interesting: "Notwithstanding that up to the present it has been believed that the river of Nueces is the dividing line between Coahuila and Texas, for so it appears on the maps, I am informed by the government of the State, that in this an error has been committed by the geographers, and that the true boundary ought to commence at the

¹Proclamation of Gaspar Flores, first *alcalde* of San Fernando, September 20, 1824. It should be noted that since the independence of Mexico several of the new States have dropped the names formerly imposed by their Spanish conquerors.

²Bexar Archives. Petition of Francisco Ricardo, July 30, 1833 and *alcabala* records for 1833 and 1834.

³Bexar Archives. Entries for José Basilio Benavides, September 24, 1834; Gregorio García, January 13, 1835; Lorenzo Benavides, March 31, 1835.

⁴*El Nuevo Bernal Diaz del Castillo*, I 11.

mouth of the Aransas and follow it up to its source; and from there, it ought to continue in a straight line, until it meets with the river Medina, where it is joined to the San Antonio; following then by the eastern margin of the same Medina as far as its source, it ought to terminate in the boundaries of Chihuahua."¹

A point to note with reference to the above boundary, is that the information upon which it is based is obtained from the authorities of the State. At that time it was well known that Texas was anxious for separate statehood, and no Mexican authorities would be likely to extend her limits more widely than was absolutely necessary. Still it is well to observe that the boundary, as reported by Almonte, does not differ materially from that laid down in the royal *cédula* of 1805 and in other sources quoted.

During this period the attention of foreign writers is turned toward Texas, and a few make mention of its boundaries. Arthur Bertrand² speaks of the Nueces as forming a part of the western boundary of Texas and of separating it from Coahuila. A French writer reviewing Mary Austin Holley's *Observations* quotes from that author the fact that Texas is bounded "on the west, by the river Nueces, which separates it from Tamaulipas and from Coahuila."³ These excerpts, as well as the report of Almonte, seem to indicate that the Medina was gradually losing, at least in the popular mind, its distinction as the boundary line between Texas and Coahuila. The Nueces was beginning to serve as the northeast limit for both Tamaulipas and Coahuila. Later, in their contention with the American government, the Mexican authorities claimed only to this river.

From this time on the march of events is rapid. The early days of 1836 behold the declaration of independence by the Texans, the massacres of the Alamo and of Goliad, and the battle of San Jacinto. The Texan settlers had exercised the Anglo-Saxon privilege of revolting, and with an unusual measure of success. The victorious leaders took advantage of the presence of so important a cap-

¹*Documentos Para la Historia de Mejico*, 4th series, V 22. When one remembers that, at that time, Chihuahua extended far to the east of the Rio Grande, there is nothing peculiar in the terminus of the above boundary.

²Bulletin de la Société de Géographie, vol. 8, Paris, 1827. Printed in *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, 1st series, vol. I.

³*Ibid.*, 1833, in *Documentos*, etc., 2nd series, vol. VI.

tive as Santa Anna to exact conditions regarding the western boundary of Texas. The Mexican troops were to retire to the other side of the Rio Grande, beyond which the Texans agreed not to extend their western limit.¹ On the 19th of the next December, the Texas legislature, at its first session, passed the following act:

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Republic of Texas in Congress assembled, That from and after the passing of this act, the civil and political jurisdiction of the Republic be, and is hereby, declared to extend to the following boundaries, to wit: Beginning at the mouth of the Sabine river, and running west along the Gulf of Mexico, three leagues from land, to the mouth of the Rio Grande, thence up the principal stream of said river to its source, thence due north to the 42nd degree of N. latitude, thence along the boundary line as defined in the treaty between the United States and Spain," etc.²

Thus within a few short months the documentary testimony of more than a century was cast aside, and Texans made the first definite claim to territory bordering on the Rio Grande. In the conflict between stubborn adherence to authorities of the past and the manifest tendency of the present, the former had begun to give way. Within the limits given above were included portions of four Mexican provinces to which Texas did not have the shadow of a claim, for Santa Anna had promptly repudiated his agreement with Burnet, as soon as set at liberty, while the Mexican government had never recognized it. The Texans might, with as great a show of justice, have extended their boundary much further to the south and west, as they did after the ill-fated Santa Fé expedition. For the present, however, they contented themselves with claiming all the territory as far as the river that offered the best line of demarkation for all this vast region.

During the nine years that followed neither side did much to make good its claim to the disputed strip of territory. There were border raids back and forth, such as the Santa Fé and Mier expeditions and the Mexican occupation of San Antonio in the winter of 1842-43. But these served only to continue the question as an open

¹Agreement between Santa Anna and President D. G. Burnet, Art. 3rd; also secret treaty of same date, May 14, 1836.

²Act approved by President Houston December 19, 1836. Kennedy, *Texas*, I 10.

one. During the decade the only Texas settlement across the Nueces was "a little ranch, inhabited by Mr. Kyney and Mr. Aubri," who acted as double spies for both Texans and Mexicans. The territory between the Nueces "neither by act nor by right could be included in Texas."¹ However, a French writer of this period, Frederic Le Clerc, gives the boundaries of Texas as laid down by the Texan Congress, and severely criticises Mexico for stubbornly refusing to recognize the young Republic. He also criticises sharply the colonization methods of the United States and its modest assumption that its citizens are but the chosen instruments of Providence in the settlement of this boundary dispute and the other questions involved.²

The manifest destiny of Texas was speedy union with the United States, and this event was consummated in 1845. The title of Texas to the territory that she claimed had been identified with her independence and when the United States had recognized this, it must recognize her title also.³ This fact had caused much bitter feeling on the part of Mexico towards the United States, which, upon the annexation of Texas, culminated in the severance of diplomatic relations between the two countries. War, however, can hardly be said to have commenced at that time. Some radical act of aggression must first be committed by one party towards the other, and that act the administration of Mr. Polk speedily committed. While any portion of Texas territory was in dispute good diplomacy, as well as international courtesy, should have prevented the sending of any troops into the portion in question. The Mexican point of view upon this question seems very strong. The occupation of the disputed territory by the troops of General Taylor can only be explained by recurring to the idea that Texas owned the territory as far as the Rio Grande. This opinion was founded upon two distinct beginnings; one, the declaration of the Texas Congress in December, 1836; and the other, the contention that the

¹Bustamente, *El Nuevo Bernal Diaz del Castillo*, I 11.

²LeClerc, *Le Texas et sa Revolution*, 9, 26, 50. Reprinted from *Revue de Deux Mondes in Mexique et le Texas*. Kennedy (I 8) takes a much stronger view in saying, "But these vague authorities [Mrs. Holley and Almonte] are now obsolete with regard to the limits of Texas, which no longer politically united to Mexico, has claimed for itself new, more ample, and more natural boundaries."

³Bancroft, *Mexico*, V 325.

Rio Grande was the original limit of Louisiana. The first, as an argument, was ridiculous, and the second untenable. Neither Texas nor Louisiana extended to the Rio Grande, as was evidenced by the undisputed documentary evidence of more than a century.¹ Moreover, compare the conditions on the Texas border with those on the Canadian border a few years previous. Would not Great Britain have regarded the introduction of troops by the United States into the disputed region on the Maine border, while the boundary was still unsettled, as a deliberate act of war and have taken measures accordingly?²

Surely, with so much of documentary evidence on their side, the Mexican writers have had ample justification for the above complaints. The territory was still in dispute and the United States should still longer have refrained from any hostile movement, such as its occupation by troops. Surely, with even a smaller favor than that afforded during the intervention of 1867, we could have obtained by purchase, from a grateful people, all the territory we now possess formerly belonging to Mexico. By the logic of events, however, we were forced into an unjust war, from which we were to emerge with a reputation for land-grabbing, destined seriously to interfere in all our subsequent relations with our Spanish-American neighbors. One would not willingly reverse the events of our history, still less would one wish to restore to Mexico the territory we then wrested from her; but this acquisition will remain in our history one that we may well wish to have been otherwise made.³

By this sketch the author, relying upon such documentary authorities as he has at his disposal, has hoped to trace the beginning and development of the southwest boundary of Texas, largely from a Spanish and Mexican point of view. In this manner he has tried to add some new features of interest to an old and time-worn subject. The problem of the boundary resulted in a contest between a weak power, relying upon documentary evidence, with a powerful neighbor engaged in blocking out its natural limits from ocean to ocean. Such a contest could have but one ending; but it is no more than just to admit that from a documentary point of view, the logic of Mexico's position was irrefutable.

¹*Guerra entre Mexico y los Estados Unidos*, passim.

²Bustamente: *El Nuevo Bernal Diaz del Castillo*, I 11.

³See note 1, p. 81.—EDITOR QUARTERLY.

SOME MATERIALS FOR SOUTHWESTERN HISTORY IN
THE ARCHIVO GENERAL DE MEXICO.

HERBERT EUGENE BOLTON.

A little more than a year ago there appeared in *The Nation*¹ a description of the contents of the first thirty-two volumes of the history section of the Archivo General y Público de la Nación housed in the Palacio Nacional at the City of Mexico. The historical introduction to the article made it plain that these thirty-two volumes, known as the *Colección de Memorias de Nueva España*, far from being identical and co-extensive with the Archivo General, form only a small fraction² of the great mass of manuscripts properly known by that name, and thus cleared up a point in bibliography upon which a prominent historian, if no one else, had fallen into confusion. During the past summer I examined thirty-one additional volumes, Nos. 33 to 62, inclusive, and No. 100, taken out of order, to ascertain their contents, and more especially to find what they contain bearing on the history of the Southwest. Some of the results in the latter particular, with the emphasis upon matter relating to Texas, will be stated here, those of a more general bearing being reserved for another place.

Owing partly to the different circumstances attending their collection, the general character of the introductory volumes of the Sección de Historia is somewhat different from that of those that follow. The first thirty-two are a systematic compilation, made for a definite purpose within a short space of time, and have a certain unity and completeness; succeeding volumes have accumulated gradually, in fulfillment of a more general purpose, and as a result are less organized and unified in character than the foregoing, manuscripts in them having very little relation to each other often being bound together. Some of the volumes are even fragmentary in make-up. A second difference, probably to be

¹May 30, 1901. An article by Professor George P. Garrison, entitled "The Archivo General de Mexico."

²The Sección de Historia, only one of the smaller of about twenty branches of the Archivo General, alone contains 335 bound volumes of manuscripts.

explained in the same way, is that the papers in the first volumes are, on the whole, of more general interest, though not necessarily of more value, than subsequent ones, which often are of local bearing. It is to be noted also, that whereas the first thirty-two volumes are composed entirely of copies, in those that follow a goodly portion of the manuscripts are original. Though not a little of the material is the same in both parts of the collection, probably many gaps left open by the earlier volumes are filled by the later ones.

More than half the volumes that I examined contain more or less material on Southwestern history, some original and much unprinted. It may be divided roughly into that bearing (1) on Texas and Louisiana, (2) on Nuevo Mexico, and (3) on the explorations and missionary work of the far Southwest. It will be convenient to consider these divisions in the order given.

Of the sources described in the article referred to a considerable part relate to the history of Texas, volumes 27 and 28, *Documentos para la Historia Eclesiástica y Civil de la provincia de Texas*, for example, being devoted exclusively to that subject, and containing papers of great importance. Examination proved that the succeeding volumes also contain material on Texas, equally extensive, and some of it of considerable value; though no additional sources were encountered of such general interest as some in the earlier numbers. Apart from the incidental references to Texas in the extensive material bearing on Nuevo Mexico and upon the Southwest as a whole, volume 51 deals exclusively with Texas, and 100 nearly so; 43 is devoted entirely to Texas and Louisiana; while a number of papers relating to Texas history are found scattered through other volumes. The most important groups of this material deal with the history of Bucareli (the settlement of which Nacogdoches was the continuation), the Texas-Louisiana boundary, commercial relations between Texas and Louisiana in the later eighteenth century, surveys made between Santa Fé and various Texas points in 1787-8, and the status of Laredo and Dolores in 1757, shortly after their foundation. While most of the papers are in the form of official copies, hence reasonably trustworthy, only a small part are original. Indeed, a much smaller portion of the material found on Texas is original than on a number of other subjects. The natural query is, Where are the origi-

nals? which is a hard question to answer, and for most of the papers it will probably remain unanswered; but the large number of copies made in Chihuahua afford at least a hint that possibly the archives of that city might be a fruitful field to search.

Coming now in some detail to individual sources, those in volume 51, which deals exclusively with Texas, may be put first. The volume is entitled *Téjas, Varios Asuntos de esta Provincia, 1780 á 1807*, and is made up of seven documents, some of which contain correspondence several years earlier than the dates in the title would indicate. The first paper¹ relates to Indian affairs and the promotion of trade in 1776. The remaining six, comprising about two hundred folios written on both sides, relate to the establishment, progress, abandonment, and re-establishment of the pueblo de Nuestra Señora del Pilar de Bucareli.² They contain much unused material on this important episode of Texas history. All of the papers in this volume were copied from official records in Chihuahua in 1807 by Fr. José María Rosas, a government secretary. For purposes of reference and more fully to indicate the character of the material they contain, I give in the notes the titles of the documents.³

¹*Expediente Sobre Propositiones del Gobernador de Texas, Baron de Ripperda, para erección de un nuevo Presidio, y Emprehender una Cruda Guerra contra los Apaches, Lipanes, haciendo Alianza con los Naciones del Norte*, 104 folios, dated 1776. Most of the material relates to 1772-3. Titles given here are, in all but one instance, taken from the documents themselves, instead of from the "indices" at the beginnings of the volumes, which are rather descriptions than titles of the documents.

²For references on Bucareli see Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, I 631; Raines, *A Bibliography of Texas*, 264.

³2. (Numbered continuously with the document named in note 1 above.) *Expediente Sobre el Establecimiento del Pueblo de Nuestra Señora del Pilar de Buareli, su abandono, comercio con los Indios Gentiles del Nortte, y destino de los Vecinos del Extinguido Presidio de los Adaes*, 73 folios, 1774. 3. *Expediente Sobre que al Vecindario del Pueblo de Ntra. Señora del Pilar de Buarely se le destine, Parroco, por cuenta de la Real Hacienda*, 21 folios, 1779. 4. *Los Vecinos del Extinguido Presidio, y Poblacion de los Adaes, hasta el Numero de sesenta y tres, que sin establecimiento alguno se hallan agregados al de San Antonio de Bexar, y Villa de San Fernando; sobre que atendiendo al infeliz estado, en que han quedado, por haver abandonado sus cosas y Tierras; y á la felicidad con que han servido, y estan prontos, a continuar sirviendo a S. M. en aquella Frontera, se les conceda por el Senor Gobernador el Jefe, y Comandante*

Volume 43 is entitled *Luisiana*, but deals largely with Texas also. It consists of twenty-nine manuscripts, which may be put roughly into three groups, exclusive of one document that stands by itself. The first bears upon the boundaries of Louisiana, with special reference to that between Louisiana and Texas. In it are the papers, comprising the first seven numbers of the volume and occupying about 120 folios, collected by Melchor de Talamantes, while commissioner appointed by the viceroy, Yturrigaray, in January, 1807, to report upon this subject. The papers, grouped into eight *opusculos*, contain a great variety of material, such as correspondence between Talamantes and Yturrigaray; memoranda of archives and libraries to be consulted by the commissioner; and annotated extracts from Espinosa's *Crónica Apostólica*, Mezières's *Cartas*, royal *cédulas*, and letters patent. They contain, also, compilations by Talamantes based upon these and various other sources. Besides these papers of Talamantes, numbers 12 and 20-29, inclusive, bear upon the same subject. They consist of official *carpetas*, instructions to military commanders, historical essays, and geographical notes. Some of the papers in this group have very little value, but others are of more importance. The main interest in the collection made by Talamantes is in his own notes and correspondence, as his sources are for the most part well known and accessible.¹ The collection as a whole would prove

General, algun establecimiento para que quedan Subsistir con sus Familias, 32 folios, dated 1783, but containing earlier correspondence. 5. *Representación de la Justicia de la Poblacion de Nuestra Señora del Pilar de Bucareli; sobre libertad de Diezmos para aquellos Moradores*, 10 folios, covering 1777-1779. 6. *Expediente Sobre el abandono del Pueblo de Nuestra Señora del Pilar de Bucareli*, Quaderno 5, 53 folios, 1778-1780. 7. *Expediente Sobre el abandono del Pueblo de Bucareli y establecer Comercio con los Indios Gentiles del Norte*, Quaderno 6, 1780-1781.

¹The titles of the Talamantes papers are as follows: 1. *Límites y extension de la Louisiana. Discurso publicado en dha. Provincia en la Gazeta de Natchez del Martes 23 de Diciembre de 1806. Copiado, traducido, y anotado por Fr. Melchor de Talamantes, en Mayo de 1808.* The article copied occupies 10 folios and Talamantes' *Notas* fill 14. In this number is also contained his correspondence with Yturrigaray, 18 folios. 2. *Historia del Descubrimiento y población de la Provincia de Tejas hasta al año de 1730. Escrito por el Pe. Fr. Melchor de Talamantes*, 16 folios. This is made up of 32 paragraphs extracted from Espinosa's *Crónica Apostólica*. 3. *Extracto de las cartas de Dn. Atanasio de Mezières,*

worthy of the attention of special students of Louisiana and Texas boundary questions.¹

A second group of papers in volume 43, comprising numbers 8, 10, 11, and filling over two hundred folios, are *expedientes* and *autos* treating of commercial relations between the provinces of Texas and Louisiana during the period 1774-1790. Most of this group, like those of the foregoing, are certified by Antonio Bonilla, the author of the *Breve Compendio*. They contain a brief *relación particular* of each of the jurisdictions of Texas,² official correspondence between Caballero de Croix and José de Galvez;³ José de Galvez and the viceroy; Caballero de Croix and Antonio Flores; Luis de Unzaga y Amezaga and Baron Ripperdá; and Ripperdá and Bucareli. The subjects of correspondence are the possible industries of Texas, the existing trade in horses between that province and Louisiana; the advisability of extending trade relations between the two provinces⁴ and of establishing a new commercial port and a new frontier; and complaints of the relations of the French and English to the Indians. A large part of this interesting material is apparently unpublished and unused.⁵ It would

formado por el...Dn. Fr. Melchor de Talamantes, 6 folios. 4. *Breve extracto histórico de la Conquista de la Luisiana por los Franceses*, taken from M. Richer's *Histoire Moderne*, 8 folios, annotated. 5. Extracts from Le Clerq's *Histoire des Colonies Françaises* (Paris, 1692) followed by eight folios of "Observaciones" by Talamantes. No title given. 6. *Reflexiones sobre la Real Cédula del Señor Dn. Carlos II Dirigida al Virrey de Nueva España* relative to settlement of Espíritu Santo Bay. It also contains reflections on Louis XIV's letters patent to La Salle. 7. *Plan de la Obra que se esta preparada en desempeño de la comisión sobre investigar los verdaderas limites occidentales de la Provincia de la Luisiana*, by Talamantes, together with others of his notes and correspondence, 15 folios. Of the other papers on Louisiana No. 25 is entitled *Representación hecha a su Magd. sobre limites de la Luisiana con motivo de haber pedido un socorro el Gobernador del Nuevo Orleans*, 7 folios, 1756 or 1757, by Angel Martos de Navarrete, governor of Coahuila.

¹They have already been used to some extent. See the article by Mr. I. J. Cox in this number.—EDITOR QUARTERLY.

²Dated at Chihuahua in 1778.

³Much of it based on Mezières's *Cartas*.

⁴Croix's three plans are discussed.

⁵Some, but by no means all, of this correspondence may be included in the papers of Bucareli, Flores, Galvez, and Ripperdá cited by Bancroft

seem to be sufficient to form the basis for a good study on the period and topic with which it deals.¹

The third class of documents, comprising numbers 13-19, consists of a number of diaries recording journeys made to survey the roads and ascertain the distances from Santa Fé to San Antonio de Béjar and other points to the east, in 1787-1788. There are copies of the instructions, diaries, and *derroteros* of Santiago Fernandez, José Mares Cabo Ymbalido, Francisco Xavier Frago, and Pedro Vial, all copied from official papers in Chihuahua in 1793-4 by Manuel Merino. If any of these have been printed, I do not know it.

Document No. 9 in the same volume is a copy of Bonilla's *Breve Compendio*, another copy of which is in volume 27. A comparison of a few pages of the two shows many differences, the cases of apparent omission and incompleteness usually being chargeable to the copy in volume 27.² It is not altogether improbable that by a careful comparison of the several copies of this important work now known to exist, it could be determined which is nearest the original and all could be improved.

Volume 100, entitled *Registro de varios expedientes y algunas acusaciones, 1788-1796*, to which my attention was called by chance, also relates largely to Texas. It contains documents touching upon the state of several missions, accusations against Antonio Gil Ybarbo, Teniente de Gobernador at Nacogdoches, and other papers of varied character.³ Other papers on Texas history (of which little has been printed). Most of that cited refers to dates earlier than this. See *North Mexican States and Texas*, I xxii, xxviii, xxix, xli; Mexico, I xxxii, xvi.

¹The titles of these documents are: 8. *Expediente Sobre Comercio reciproco entre las Provincias de la Louisiana y Texas; Havilitacion de un Puesto en la costa de esta; ampliacion de limites de la primera; extendiendo los hasta el Rio de Sabinas, y otras puntos incidentes*, 142 folios. 10. *Expediente sobre comercio reciproco entre las Provincias de la Luisiana y Tejas*, dated January 10, 1776, folios 19. 11. *Esplacion. Para el reconocimiento de la costa de Sotavento desde la pasa del Sur-oeste del Rio Misioipi asta la Bahia de San Bernardo*, etc., 40 folios.

²The copy is in the same hand as the documents certified by Antonio Bonilla, but this one is not certified, and the date of making the copy is not given. It is annotated by Pe. Fr. Manuel Vega.

³This volume was not examined as carefully as the others, nor were titles copied.

are scattered through the remaining volumes examined; for example, in No. 37, entitled *Presidos* [sic], *Pagos de Soldados*, is a collection of *autos* relating to the possession of churches and convents of the El Paso district just at the close of the eighteenth century; while in volumes 53-56, a series entitled *Tamaulipas*, are contained official descriptions of Dolores and Laredo in 1757, settlements in what was then Nuevo Santander.¹ In volume 42, entitled *Misiones*, which is a report made in 1793² on the State of the missions, paragraphs 187-236, occupying ten folios, are on the missions of Texas.

What the remaining 273 volumes have of interest for students of Texas history can be learned only by patient investigation, but the amount is probably considerable. The interests of historical work on Texas would be greatly promoted were it possible to make some arrangement by which to systematically seek out, sift, copy, edit, and publish the more important sources of Texas history which this large collection contains.

On the history of Nuevo Mexico there is in these volumes a large amount of material, to a considerable extent original, and much of it unpublished.* Three volumes (37, 38, 39) deal exclusively with that province during the years 1690-1697, the period occupied by Vargas's reconquest. Volume 37, *Presidos, Pagos de*

¹In March, 1757, Don Joseph Tienda de Cuervo, captain of dragoons at Vera Cruz, and Don Agustín Lopez, lieutenant-colonel of the royal cavalry, and an engineer, were commissioned to make a survey of the colony of Nuevo Santander. The original results of the surveys or "*Inspecciones*" are contained in volumes 55 and 56; vol. 54 is made up of Cuervo's summary report to the viceroy; while No. 53 contains the report of Lopez, entitled *Descripción General*. All these are original. A copy was made of those relating to Laredo. They may be translated and published in the future.

²December 27. A report made in consequence of a royal order of January, 1784, to the viceroy. This report has been printed entire in *Diccionario Universal de Historia y de Geografía*. Mexico, 1853-56. 4to. 10 vols.

*Of the first thirty-two volumes, 2, 3, and 25 relate to Nuevo Mexico. The material in volumes 2 and 3 is printed in *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, 3d series, IV 113-208. A copy of the same, Bancroft cites as the *Archivo de Nuevo Mexico*. See his *Arizona and New Mexico*, 20, 197.

Soldados, contains six numbers relative to Vargas's operations.¹ Volume 38, *Restauración de la Nueva Mexico*, contains papers of the same general description. Conspicuous among them are fifteen orders of the superior government to Zapata. They are in the original, containing the signature of Conde de Galvez, and appear to be unpublished.² They cover the period from May 28, 1692, to July 29, 1695. A large part of the remainder of the volumes is occupied by a collection of original military documents covering the years 1693 and 1694.³ Volume 39, on whose title-

¹*Testim'o de difer'tes Recados Sobre la paga de 22,500 p's*, being correspondence between Don Diego de Vargas Zapata and Don Pedro Rodriguez Cubero, referring to payment of soldiers at El Paso and Santa Fé, 38 folios. 2. *Autos sobre la Union de Armas de las Prov's de Sinaloa, Sonora y Paso del Rio del Norte*, by Don Juan Fernandez de la Fuente, 46 folios. This document begins with the date 26 May, 1691. Some of the papers are signed in the hand of Vargas. 3. *Auttos y diligenzias que en Cumplimiento de la Carta Original que en ellas Consta del Eamo. Señor Virrey Conde de Galvez, hizó..... el Govern'r y Capp'an General del R'no de la Nueva Mex'co por su Magestad, 1691*, folios 134, mostly original. Signed by Vargas, Galvez, and others. 4. *Autos de Posess'n de las yglesias y Conv'tos asi en este Pue'o del passo del rrio del norte Como en los demas de su distrito pedidos por el M. R'do Pe. Fr. Fran'o de Vargas.....en el mes de Ag'to de 1691*. 71 folios. This contains mainly original papers of the years 1691-2. 5. *Auttos de Guerra de la Camp'a y Conq'to del R'no de la nu'a Mexico que mediante el favor Divino y a su Costa a Conseguido Don Diego de Vargas Zapata, 1692.....* folios 169. About one-fourth of this is made up of original papers. 6. *Testim'o de la Visita y Lista personal de los vec'os que para Pobladores del Reyno nuevamente Conquistado de la nu'a Mexico y su Villa de Santa Feé se hallan Vivir en este Pueblo del Passo del Rio del norte y su distrito Hho para Remitir al Ea'mo S'or Virrey Conde de Galvez per Don Diego de Vargas Zapatta, 1693*, folios 35..... This and many of the other papers in this volume are in the hand of Alphonso Rael de Aguilar, secretario de Gobierno y Guerra.

In printing the above titles it has been impossible to reproduce in type the exact form of the manuscript. The apostrophes here used to indicate omissions did not occur in the original. In each word containing an apostrophe, the letters following it were written in small hand and some distance above the line, as in the following example: Sor.—EDITOR QUARTERLY.

²*Quince Mandamientos de este Superior Gobierno Dirigidos para la Restauración del Reyno de la Nueva Mexico fha. por Dn. Diego de Vargas Zapata y Lujan*, 68 folios.

³*Testimonios de las Guerras de la Reconquista del Reyno y Provincia de la Nueva Mejico, hecho por el gral D. Diego Vargas Zapata*, 165 folios. Some of the papers are signed by Vargas.

page stands *Reconquista del Reyno de la Nueva Mexico, por Dn. Diego Vargas Zapata, 1692-5*, contains 471 folios of a character sufficiently well described by the title, part original, but more largely made up of copies.¹ In volume 41, *Documentos Colima*, is a copy of Governor Concha's instructions to his successor in 1794, which throw light on the state of affairs in Nuevo Mexico during his administration. Volume 52, whose title appears farther on, contains miscellaneous papers on that province, dated in 1775 and 1776.²

Besides the sources already mentioned, another considerable group of materials on Southwestern history is that dealing with missionary work and explorations, particularly in the far Southwest. The most considerable of these encountered will be indicated here in a general way. Volume 41 contains a number of papers, some original, relative to the Gila, Colorado, and California missions in 1771-1772. Volume 52, entitled *Expedientes relativos á reconocimientos en Rios del Norte, Conchos, Colorado, y Gila* is devoted largely to explorations in those regions. It contains, among other things, an original, apparently unprinted, though not unused, diary of Berrotaran, recording a journey made in 1729 to the Rio del Norte,³ as well as copies of the diaries of Garcés, Escalante, and Dominguez.⁴ Two copies were found of Salvatierra's well-known *Cartas*.⁵

¹Bancroft (*Arizona and New Mexico*, I 198, note) mentions a manuscript volume by nearly the same name in the archives at Santa Fé. This volume, like the one he cites, is divided (partly, at least) into *quadernos*, but appears to be incomplete. It may be that they contain the same materials.

²Papers signed by Brigadier Dn. Pedro F. de Mendinueta, Miguel Constansó, Hugo Oconór, Sylvestre Velez de Escalante, and others.

³Other original papers are "*Quaderno 3º perteneciente á la expedición de la Junta de los Rios del Norte y Conchos*, dated 1748, and a diary of Dn. Jermin de Vidaure, 1747-1757.

⁴Bancroft (*Arizona and New Mexico*, 262) mentions *Diario y Derrotero*, by Dominguez and Escalante, as printed in *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, series ii, I 377 *et seq.* Another copy of Garcés's diary was found in volume 34. These copies are probably the same as his *Diario y Derrotero*, printed in *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, series ii, I 225, *et seq.*

⁵In volumes 34 and 36. They are printed in *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, series ii, I 103-157.

The above sketch is, of necessity, incomplete, and aims, particularly in the latter part, to be illustrative rather than exhaustive. But it may serve to indicate the nature of some of the apparently considerable material on Southwestern history, in the volumes examined, still largely unused.

REMINISCENCES OF C. C. COX.

I.

My parents begun houskeeping about the year 1812. they were both born in Ky. my maternal Grand Father emigrated to that state, from Maryland[.] He had served in the war of the Revolution, and moved to the "dark and bloody ground" in the days when it was necessary to carry his Rifle to the field, so as to be always prepared if a red man called[.] This Grand Father of mine lived to the age of 94 and died beloved of all men. I had the honor of inheriting his Christian name, but his virtues have fallen but lightly upon my shoulders. My dear mother however still lives....

My Fathers ancestors moved from the "Mother of States" with the early pioneers, who crossed the Ohio River. the earliest account I have of this Grand Father he was engaged in a large saddlery business in Lexington. My Father was brought up to that trade and followed it to his grave. His life was an eventful one, saddened by many misfortunes, but cheered also by happy surroundings, and his great loving heart, and genial disposition was a perpetual source of joy to him and pleasure to his friends. at 88 he crossed over the dark River—and memories most dear follow after the dear old man. Of brothers and sisters I will have occasion to speak hereafter, suffice it to say now that there were five of us in all. 3 sons and two daughters. the two last and the Elder brother have long since gone to the spirit land, the baby brother yet lives and dispenses hospitality at the old paternal Home and the other brother, well it is of him and his career that I am now attempting to write..... About the time mentioned, my parents transferd their abode to the little town of Piqua in the state of Ohio. it was here that on the 8th day of Dec 1825I am told that my eyes first opened to the light....

At the age of 5 years, I was so far developed mentally and physically, as to be able to accompany my parents on their return to their native State. From this time I can date my earliest recollections, and in the succeeding seven years are comprised the incidents and pleasures, of my school days, stick Horses, skating and first love, in looking back now over the lapse of 50 years—much of that part of my life is as vivid as the Occurrences of a much later period—Ben-

edict Knott taught the school at the "Forks". He was a "Tartar" among the boys. I donot remember to have ever seen him whip a girl, but he feasted on the boys. He was succeded in the School by a Mr Samuels, a much milder man, but pedagogics in those days were practiced from a different standpoint than prevails in the more modern schools. Dogmatic authority, and Apple tree coercion were the methods employed to developpe the juvenile intellect and a comparison of that system, with the methods and discipline in vogue at the present day, with the fact in view, that children have been the same in all ages, is calculated to increase our respect for the primitive plan. I had to walk 3 miles to this school. I say walk, though I generally trotted or galloped—not astride of a real Horse, but straddle of a Stick Horse—and it seems to me now that the pleasure of that exercise is inferior to none that I ever experienced....

Our Home was situated upon a beautiful Hill overlooking Elkhorn creek. For a hundred years that has been the one *home* in our family—the Mecca to which children and grandchildren though scattered to the winds have periodically journeyed to recreate, to recuperate, and to enjoy the glad welcome of parental love and hospitality. I have wandered much over this fair land of Uncle Sams but I have never seen a spot in all its length and breadth, that was so beautifully possessed of all of natures Choicest gifts as the land of Boone....

My eldest sister.....had married Sidney Sherman some time in 1835. His history I need not give, for it is already written[.] It will be remembered that in this year began the struggle between Texas and Mexico—which culminated in the battle of San Jacinto on the 21st of April 1836 and by that decisive blow the virtual independence of Texas. In the fall or winter of that year Col Sherman returnd to Ky for his wife and in the month of Dec following he moved to his adopted home, the lone star Republic. It was my fortune good or bad to constitute one of his family from that time. I was just 12 years of age. My school was ended—my home abandoned, and my future life and prospects in the bosom of Texas burried[.]

The journey to Texas was devoid of any special feature—except that to one so young, and who for the first time was viewing the busy world, the incidents and sceines encountered on the trip, was

as novel and fascinating as the shifting objects of a panorama. From Frankfort to Louisville we traveled by the pike, "the beautiful snow" falling thick and fast the day of our departure. At Louisville we embarked upon the splendid River Packet "Henry Clay"—commanded by our friend and neighbor Capt Jack Holton, one of the old time Ky gentlemen. Our company was augmented by a Mr. Humphries and his two sisters, also enroute for Texas. Mr H afterwards became a member of President Lamars Cabinet. In due course of time the Boat arrived at N. O. and there we transferred to another Steamer, and proceeded up one of the small Bayous of La. as far as the said stream was navigable and here we disembarked, and thence completed the journey to Houston Texas overland. I say overland, but any one acquainted with Western La and Eastern Texas, in the winter season will know that we had as much water as land on that trip—and will also realize the fact that to ladies who were taking their first experience in camp life—and still tasting the comforts and good things, they had left behind the conditions which accompanied us throughout this part of the journey, were not calculated to reconcile them to the sacrifice they had made. However we were well prepared for traveling[.] Mr S had brought with Him a Comfortable Carriage and several fine Ky Mares and Horses—and Humphries also had a suitable outfit. To our party also belonged a very handy young Mexican, that the Col had kept with him in the Capacity of Servant since the battle of San jacinto[.] He called himself Francisco, and claimed to have been Santa Annas bugler. He remained with us several years and until an opportunity was offered to send him to his home in Youcatan.

Col S settled in San jacinto Bay at a point about midway between Galveston & Houston[.] This was near "Morgans pont" and about 7 miles below the battle ground. The first little place he occupied was called Mt Vernon, a very pretty site for a House being on a bluff overlooking the Bay. here we spent about a year, the House was built of logs and contained first one room—but that room was either very large or stood craming remarkably well, shortly after we had located, the family was increased by the arrival of an Aunt & Neice & Nephew of Mr S, and a little later on Mr Dana Sherman & wife arrived. with these accessions we had 9 in family besides, the cook. I dont know where she slept, but certainly not in the Kitchen, for that family convenience was just outside the door

without other protection than a few brush overhead. I dont know why it is that everbody wants to keep a Hog[.] an old sow can do more mischief and cause a mans wife more unhappiness than all the other animals on the place that is if you have no yard fence and the Kitchen is not walled up. We had a sow and I have seen her take the lid off the oven and appropriate the contents when fire hot—and manifest not the slightest remorse at the freedom of the act or the least sensibility to the warmth of her repast. This was one skeleton in our house, but as there were no closets we had not room for many such. We had a dog also, but he was a noble fellow, a Newfoundland, loved the water as if his native element and if not a regular Nimrod, was certainly his shadow. Ducks & Geese and Swan almost litterly covered the waters. The deer came in sight of the house in droves—and fish at the bay shore in variety and abundance. Cattle were plenty and Cheap and we had Ky stock to ride, only one neighbor within 2 miles— this was as near as I can remember how matters stood with us the first winter in Tex....

It may be proper now, to say something of the personeel of the people who preceeded us to this part of Texas and who now constituted the citizenship of the Bay Country, for it must be remembered that Texas was very new, and at this time very sparsly settled and except the occasional settlements, the Country was in a state of nature. The Savages that erstwhile had held the land had been driven towards the frontier but there remained some remnants of the more peaceful tribes, to remind us of the late sovereignty of the Noble Red Man. The families settled along the Bay shore, on either side were mainly from the different southern States, and came in with Austins Colony—each head of a family having received a headright of one league and labor of land, being near 4600 acres. These families were generally living upon their own locations and consquently neighbors were usually 2 to 3 miles apart. However we had one near neighbor, say within a half mile, this was Enoch Brunson [Brinson], who had emigrated from La[.] There was always a mistery about this man, he had lost an eye and always wore a large tuft of hair over where the eye had been and always kept his hat on his head, even at meals..... At the time I write he was about 50 years of age. Mr B was a very social, hospitable man and an obliging neighbor,.....he was a hardshell Baptist of the ultra Kind—predestination and all.

His wife was a good little woman and one of the sort that never tires. She usually milked 30 to 40 cows night and morning—and supplied the family, from Butter & cheeses & chickens & eggs that she marketed in Galveston—and here comes in another member of the family, though neither Kith nor Kin—but a sort of silent partner—who done all the chores and outside work and run the Boat that carried the surplus to the Island city. This was Mr Jno Imes [Iiams]—batchelor and friend of the House. John was a good honest fellow—and clever, handy, and full of fun on all occasions. Fortune had not blest this home with the prattle of little ones, When we first Knew them, but later on there came to them a Boy and girl.....Mrs B had a charming little niece, whose visits from across the bay were always much enjoyed by myself.

The next neighbor down the Bay Shore, was also a Batchelor—and more of a Character than the last. This was Genl Clopper but as we are shortly to be nearer neighbors to the Genl, I will reserve him for future mention. 2 miles further down the bay we come to Morgans point or New Washington, the home of Col James Morgan, a participant in the active scenes of the late unpleasantness with Mexico and at the time of the Battle of Sanjacinto was in command at Galveston Island[.] The col was the agent and active partner of northern Capitalists who had invested largely in Texas lands, under the name and style of the "New Washington Association"—and hence the name of the cols residence, which at that day was the most pretentious dwelling in all the land, and the situation was not only the most prominent but the most beautiful site on the Bay, being at the junction of Sanjacinto and Galveston Bays, it overlooked both waters for many miles, and though somewhat bleak in winter, it was a delightful location in Summer. This home was highly improved, and exceedingly attractive, the family cultivated and hospitality was spread with a lavish hand. The Cols wealth and social and political promance in the State his liberality, genial disposition, love of company and fine conversational powers made his home the resort of the stranger as well as friend. I have met at this house President Burnett, Genl Houston, Sidney Johnson Barnard E Bee, Dr Ashbel Smith, Mesely Baker Mr Anderson—the naturalist—the son and daughter of John Newland Maffit—Com Moore, and hundreds of other promanet citizens of the State & other States who came to this home to enjoy its comfort and hos-

pitality. The old col has long since been geatherd to his Fathers.

I scarcely know how to write of the next ten years of my life, such a multitude of incidents crowd upon the memory that I know not which to speak of and which to pass by. Anyhow the Bay was home to me in all these years, but much of the time I was far away in body, though in spirit was roaming the beautiful prairies, or sailing upon the lovely waters. Only the 2d year of our residence on the Bay, death entered into our household and carried off both Mr Dana Sherman and his wife—they died the same day of yellow fever.....A beautiful little daughter was left us as a legacy.

About this time I was placed in a store at Houston, my brother in law thinking it would compensate me in the loss of other schooling—but the venture was not productive of any great amount of good. the Firm was about *busted* when I entered the store and in a few months, closed business. However I had some experiences which I can never forget. Mr Neighbors, afterwards Maj Neighbors Indian Agt, was a clerk in the House. he kindly took me to room with him or rather to sleep with him, for our quarters were in a loft in a building apart from the store, and our bed a few blankets on the floor, but such accommodations would have been satisfactory but for other company[.] The fleas were as thick as the sands of the sea[.] Our clothes were actually bloody, and our bodies freckled after a night of warfare with the Vermine. And the Rats, I cannot convey an idea of the multitude of Rats in Houston at that time. They were almost as large as Prairie dogs and when night came on, the streets and Houses were litterly alive with these animals. Such running and squealling throughout the night, to say nothing of the fear of losing a toe or your nose, if you chanced to fall asleep, created such an apprehension that together with the attention that had to be given our other Companions made sleep well nigh impossible. We boarded at a Hotel near the Bayou, and I can almost smell that dining room yet. In those days the markets didnt furnish fresh vegetables—but onions in Barrels and Boat loads were everywhere and in everything and the smell of Onions and the taste of Onions followed us day and night like a nightmare.

But I remember one pleasant dining during my short sojourn in Houston. I was loitering upon the street in the vicinity of the principal Hotel, When my hand was suddenly taken by Genl Sam

Houston—and with gentle condescension, this wonderful man strode into the hotel, and reaching the dining table I found myself at once seated between the Ex President, and the then President of the Republic of Texas, Genl Maribaeu B Lamar. It seemed to be a special dining as the company was numerous and select. And to say that I was stuned and almost paralyzed by this *presence*, would not do justice to my feelings. It seemed to me that the company regarded me as the distinguished guest. I felt that all eyes were upon me—and the shots continually fired at the Genl and his protégée, covered me with confusion. The wine flowed freely, and when a toast was drank, my glass had to go up with the rest. In this way I suppose I gained my self possession. At any rate I left the company with a feeling of enjoyment—and the memory of that little compliment from so distinguished a source has always been a pleasant remembrance.

When I returned to the Bay Mr Sherman had removed his residence to "Crescent Place"—a point on the Bay two miles above New Washington. This was in 1839. In that year the wheel of fate made another revolution on my account. My Bro & sister ever anxious about my educational necessities, thought they saw a solution of the matter, in the opportunities offered in the Texas Navy. Accordingly an appointment was obtained for me as midshipman, and orders furnished me to report to the Commanding officer at Galveston.

Now at this time the city of Galveston was not the attractive place that it is 50 years later. The population probably didnt exceed 2000, the Houses were plain wooden structures ranging from the little 10x12 shanty to the somewhat pretentious, storehouse, and here & there a respectable looking dwelling and of course the indispensible Hotels, which were ample for the needs of Town. The wharves which in later years have formed a bulwark for the city from the storms and waves that come down from the North,had not been built—and on the occasion of my first visit, the steamer ran head on to the shore—or as near as the water would allow and the passengers disembarked on staging from the Boat to the Shore. The storm which had swept over the Island in 37, had left many reminders of the visit. One schooner was imbedded in the sand just where we landed. I saw another at the Sand Hills over on the Gulf side of the Island. But our new Navy rode

at anchor in the harbor and made cheerful the otherwise gloomy prospect.

The Brig Wharton, & Schooners San Jacinto San Bernard & San Antonio were in port when I went down. my orders were to report on Board the Wharton, which vessel was under sailing orders for New York, but when I presented my papers, the Wharton already had her complement of middys—and I was assigned to the Schooner San Jacinto.

And now began an experience and mode of life for which I soon discovered I was not intended. Our Liut Commanding was a man by the name of Gibbons the most tiranical officer that I have ever Known either in the navy or army. Some of our men were real land lubbers—and of course had to be drilled in the duties of the ship—but to run up the rigging and out on the yard arms, and swing yourself like a monkey by one hand or balance yourself on a foot rope 40 feet in the air and furl and unfurl sails like an old Tar was just what the recruit could not do, but the Liut had great faith in the "Colt" and for every blunder, poor Jack would have to come down—and lay himself across the gun and receive a dozen from the Boatswains mate.

Well it was not long after I went on board until, our vessel was appointed to service. A Schooner loaded with army supplies was ready to sail from Galveston to Velasco at the mouth of the Brazos—and our man of war was ordered to convoy the Schooner down. So one bright sunshiny morning, Our Schooner was taken in tow by a steamer and carried outside the Galveston Bar, to there await the sailing of the Merchant Schooner. But for some purpose not now recollected two small boats belonging to our Vessel, were left behind with orders to follow on later in the day & join the ship outside. each boat was manned with 4 men with a midshipman in charge[.] I was in charge of one of the Boats. Now as evry one may not understand the Iron rules of the naval service, the relations of Officers and men, and the discipline that is observed on ship-board Let it be understood that here was a boy not yet 14 years of age, who had never tasted of salt water, without judgment or experience, suddenly clothed with the dignity and authority of a commander—a mere infant in intelligence but a very Titan in Authority. And now after all these years, in pening these recollections I am oppressed with shame and mortification at the abuse of the posi-

tion I occupied—and the want of consideration and respect for the feelings and gray hairs of the old tars that composed my crew. I was but an infant upon the waters—they were veterans of the deep—but then I was a little officer, they were the machinery that propelled my boat.

Well as I have said the morning was beautiful the Bay as smooth as a lake, and scarcely a breath of air to be felt. About 10 Oc I pulled out from the city, and a few minutes later—the other Boat followed. We were not long in reaching the East end of the Island and on turning the point and heading for the Bar, we soon encountered a heavy sea coming in from the gulf. And now too a dence fog settled upon the waters. Still we kept on, out upon the Bar the seas rolled not “mountain high” but so high that our little Boat danced among the waves like a toy. The men said it was madness to go on, that we would be swamped—and we had best go back and wait for the fog to clear away and the sea abate. The other Boat did go back, but I had orders to join the ship without delay, and I had not the courage to disobey any order of Liut Gibbons. So we pulled ahead—head on, to every wave, the spray dashing over us with every pitch of the Boat and without compass or objects to guide us.

It is now about 12 Oc a very little breeze is springing up, and right ahead not 50 paces distant we descry a vessel under full sail outward bound. A few lusty pulls brought us alongside the stranger and no boarding party ever reached the decks of an enemy with more alacrity than myself & men were on the deck of that vessel. The capt treated me kindly. He was bound for Mobile. He refused to lay-to until the fog cleared away—but fired off his gun and blew his horn, to attract our vessel if in hearing distance—but no answer came. In the meantime the Vessel was slowly going seaward. The Capt said I could stick to him or take to my Boat again—but now his dinner was announced and he invited me into the Cabin. I thought I was hungry and took my seat at the Table with great willingness. Pork & beans occupied the center of the Table, or that dish seemed to have more prominence than all the rest. my plate was helped and I got a peice of the pork in my mouth—but just then I found difficulty in swallowing—the Cabin seemed too close, a cold sweat began to break out on me, and excusing myself to the Capt I returned to the deck in double quick

time, and there delivered my first tribute to old Ocean. I was dreadful sick.....But I had not long to indulge this weakness[.] Our friend the schooner was gliding along lazily in the Fog—and about 1 P. M. we hove in sight of a vessel at anchor. this was a Brig loaded for Galveston. being now out over the Bar the sea was not so rough & thanking our friends of the schooner for their hospitality—we reentered our little Boat and pulled for the Brig. About 3 Oc the fog cleared off, and enabled us to see the San Jacinto about two miles off in the direction of the Island. I pulled alongside about 4, Oc. and mounting to the deck and touching my Cap to the Lieut. I briefly explained the cause of my delay and was rewarded by a reprimand for my temerity in pulling out to sea in a fog.

The following morning found us riding quietly at anchor, ready for sea, but waiting for a breeze, the sea was almost smooth and not a breath of air astir. The crew was practised at putting on and taking off sail & other maneuvers in handling the ship—and at 12 Oc when all hands were piped to dinner, the Sails were left spread, and a peaceful stillness pervaded the vessel—When a visitor Came upon us with such suddenness force and fury that before the Capt or rather Liut comdg, could get on deck, the schooner was lying on her starboard side with the foresail and mainsail in the water. The Capt shouted let go the Sheets, let go the hallyards, but the men seemed paralyzed and only after repeated orders and by his own efforts, were the sails so lowered and shifted as to be relieved of the force of the wind—and then slowly the schooner righted, and faced to the Wind—the sails were rapidly taken in the anchor weighed and we drifted off before the Storm. The Norther was a terrific one, we lost our convoy, and on the fifth day pulled up at the mouth of the Brassos—& discovered that she was already safe inside the harbour. In a few days we were again lying in the harbour at Galveston.

I have been somewhat tedious about this my first trip to sea, simply because it was my first. It was a very short expedition—and without incident except the storm—but it gave me a foretaste of sailor life and being seasick the greater part of the time my first impressions of riding upon the “deep blue sea” were not the most agreeable.

I will not undertake to follow the daily events of my brief service

in the Navy—but will give the prominent features in a few words. From the San Jacinto I was transferred to the Steam Ship of war Zavalla, Capt Lathrop Commanding. this vessel carried about 10 guns and was a well equipped man-of-war. When the ship left Galveston she proceeded to N. O. here we remained a short time, enlisting men and taking in supplies. Thence we proceeded on a cruise in the gulf and after some days anchored at the Arcos Islands—not far off the Coast of Yucatan. Among the recruits who joined us at New Orleans, was a young midshipman, I have forgotten his name, who had contracted yellow fever & was taken down soon after coming on board. I do not know if I took the fever from him, but I do recollect that I was sick, and that we lay together in the saloon of the steamer, and that the young man died at my side.

I do not remember the time we spent at the Islands—perhaps a month or two[.] But in course of time our vessel appeared off the mouth of the Tobasco River and came to Anchor about Sundown one evening it being then too late to cross the Bar. The sea was quite smooth the sky clear and not a breath of wind. Very soon a heavy sea came rolling in from the Gulf. the strong current from the River which after entering the gulf took a course along the land made the ship ride in the trough of the sea, and she rolled from side to side like a great log. Orders were at once given to weigh Anchor & get under way but before that could be done a huge wave carried away our rudder. this rendered us helpless & the order to get up Anchor was countermanded—and now commenced an experience the like of which I expect few sailors ever witnessed. We lay in this position 5 days—no wind but the waves rolling in mountain high[.] We were about 2 miles off shore, our anchors dragged some, and the vessel sometimes gave a heavy thump on the bottom[.] To lighten the ship, our guns, one after another went overboard—the shot had gone over first. we cut away the masts, that the ship would not be so topheavy. Our Coal gave out, for we had steam up all the time—and all the bulkheads and available parts of the interior of the ship was cut out to make fuel—in all these days & nights the vessel rolled like a log—first one Wheelhouse, then the other under water, it was unsafe to be on deck without fastening yourself to something. every moment it looked as if the next would upset the ship or knock her to pieces. I was dreadful sea sick and felt quite indifferent to the danger[.] The morning of the 5th

day the Sea subsided. We got up anchor & with an improvised rudder steamed over the Bar and up the River 5 miles to the Town of Frontera. Our handsome steamer was almost a wreck.

Youcatan at that time was at war with the Central Govt of Mexico[.] Texas & Youcatan were in alliance, and our fleet was ordered there to aid in an expedition against the Central troops who were in possession of the city of Tobasco about 80 miles up the River. We were the recipients of much attention while at Frontera—the Zavalla was the first steam manofwar ever seen in that River—hundreds of people Ladies & Gentlemen came down from Merida, the Capitol of the State to visit the ship. Here I was taken with the scurvy and had a lingering spell of sickness. As soon as I could be moved I was taken on shore & nursed by a good lady of the place. Other vessels for the expedition shortly appeared—and the fleet steamed up the River in tow of the Zavalla and all under the command of Com Moore, whose flag Ship was the Sloop of war Austin. But we had no fight. The enemy evacuated the town before we reached it—and after one night stay we again droppd down the River—but a good many bags of silver were taken on Board our vessel at Tobasco and a portion at least of the same was distributed among the officers and men of the fleet as prize money. I think eight dollars was the share I got.

This about ended my active service in the Navy—on the return of our vessels to “Arcos Islands” I was transfered to the sloop of war Austin and after a short cruz in the gulf she entered the harbor of Galveston—and now after something over 2 years service in the Navy—with no prospect of active service in the future and finding that I had neither taste nor fitness for the life, I resigned my commission and returned to the home on the Bay.

But before taking a final idieu of this period of my youth I must indulge in some other reminiscences of the time and incidents connected with my sojourn in the Navy. The life is a hard one, the disciplin rigid, a boy of the age 14 & 15 has not physical capacity to perform the regular watch on shipboard—4 hours on duty and eight off—with 2 “dog watches”—4 to 6 & 6 to 8, P. M. each day is put in to alternate the watches. In case of dirilection of duty the usual punishment for an under officer is double duty—that is 4 hours on & 4 off. On one occasion tired nature dropped me into the arm of Morphiuss—when I should have been walking

the deck— this was death by the regulations— Liut Gibbons commuted the punishment to double duty for 2 weeks— In discharging the sentence I forfeited my life several times—but as it was necessary to discover the offence before inflicting the punishment I escaped hanging, always by timely warning. On each of the vessels that served—I was favoured and befriended by the Lieut in whose watch I was placed. I must ever feel grateful for the Kindness and generosity of Lieut Tennison, of the *San Jacinto*, Lieut Segars of the *Austin* and sailing master Baker of the *Zavalla*. they treated me like older brothers.

But when one of the seamen committed an offence or violated an order the punishment was frightful. Flogging with the "Colt" was a common pastime, a daily occurrence, a sort of misdemeanor penalty— but graver offenses were rewarded with the "Cat of 9 tails". 3 doz licks on the bare back, was the usual dose, the culprit stood at the gangway, with his hands lashed to the rigging, his feet fastened to a grating on which he stood—the man striped to the waist—all hands on deck to witness the scene, the articles of war read, the ship Physician on one side and the Boatswain on the other. When all was ready, the flogging commenced. At each stroke of the lash the solemn count, 1-2-3 & so on was proclaimed aloud and the poor criminal would skringe & grunt at every blow— by the time the 3 doz, the usual compliment, were given, the fellows back back was varagated with the colors red black blue & white—and the blood running in little rivers at his feet. It is gratifying to know that this barbarous practice has been abolished by most of the nations of the earth.

Burials at sea are attended with the same solemn character as the interment of the dead on shore—but the procedure is different. The corpse after being dressed is then sewed up in canvass, with 2 round shot at the feet—and then placed on a plank reaching out over the side of the vessel. The entire ships crew are piped on deck, the burial service is read and then the end of the plank is raised and the departed goes off into the sea feet foremost. The same rites are given the criminal who is hung at the yard arm[.]

I saw a sailor pitched from the yard arm into the sea one night in a storm. No succor was possible. The storm was violent and the ship drifting before the fury of the wind.

Texas was poor in that day and could not furnish her pantrys

with many delicasys. Salt Beef, Salt pork Beans Tea and "hard tack" were the staples. Our crackers were nearly always old musty and full of worms. The worms were easily disposed of by heating the bread and then knocking them out—or soaking the crackers in hot tea, they are easy Killed and I never discovered any difference in the taste of the worms and the Bread. On one Occasion Our Vessel was furnished with a lot of Chockolate beans purchased at Campeachy—which we roasted, ground & used as a substitute for coffee.

The daily life on a ship is monotonous, but the sailors have their pastimes—& employments when off duty. they wash, mend and often make their clothing—especially hats. I made myself a straw hat—and one pair of pants while in the service & had my arms tatooed as all old sailors do. Our vessel the Zavalla, laid at the Port of Sisal a good long time. It was here I think instead of Frontera as before stated, that so many ladies came to visit the ship. I thought the Mexican girls beautiful. they all smoked, each carried a little bunch of cigaritas, the etiquette was to placed a cigarita in the mouth light it and then hand to the other party. This temptation very few young men can resist....

If I could do justice to the subject I would like to tell more of the Arcos Islands. As well as I remember there are three small Islands, set in a triangular position, with a small but beautiful body of water in the centre—& which affords a safe harbor for vessels drawing 20 to 30 feet. We anchored in about 3 fathoms water, probably 200 yds from shore. the water is very clear—objects on the bottom being distinctly seen. here we had fine fishing and a species of Fish abounded that I have never seen elsewhere called the Panot Fish—the head & half the body was a bright green, the balance of the fish the usual color[.] Some were quite large, weighing 10 & 12 pounds. Along the shore sharks were numerous, but we saw none out at the vessel— The Islands furnish many variety of shells—and we collected beautiful specimens of coral. It was delightful bathing in this salt water lake. Com Moore was the best swimmer that I ever saw. He could float like a feather on the water—and swim on his back as fast as most men can the ordinary way. I have seen him leap from the top of the wheel house of the Zavalla, some 20 feet above the water and go to the bottom, a run of about 40 feet. There are no trees and

almost no vegetation on the Islands—but they are a great resort for the birds of the Ocean and we captured a great many eggs and young birds to eat. but now I have done with the sea and for some years to come will be found growing and ruralizing at Crescent Place, San Jacinto Bay....

Our neighbors were not numerous but what we had were of the original stock of Texians—and else that term may not be sufficiently descriptive I will say that the latch string could always be found on the Outside, and that hospitality and good cheer, with a love for social and neighborly intercourse was the rule & practice of the Bay people. I have already named some of these good people, I have yet to introduce—the Morris household—the Harriss, White, Le Port—Beasley and Dobies and on the North side of the Bay, Dr Smith Mosely Baker, Judge Burnett, Scott, Spillman & others. Well these families, with the Shermans, Morgans, Brinsons & Clopper constituted the circle of neighborhood visiting and friendships at the time....

Not very long after my return from the Sea, there was an entertainment at neighbor Brinsons—an old fashioned country quilting, and as this is one of the bygone customs—I feel inclined to revisit the pleasant circle that assembled on that occasion. I need not give names, but the order of exercises, and somewhat of the *modus operandi*. The quilt was stretched in the primitive way, that is between 4 slats and drawn out to the full size of the quilt—and the 4 corners each suspended by a rope to the ceiling—in the best room. Now all the ladies are expected to come early as the Quilt has to be finished before the real fun begins. The Quilters soon take their places—and the work begins on all sides. The gents on the ground are expected to roll up the sides as fast as needed, to pass the thread and scissors—and with anecdotes and small talk to entertain the workers. In the meantime things are getting hot in the Kitchen, the biggest Turkey on the place is basting his back before a huge log fire. A little porker had folded his feet under him and laid down in the bottom of a great Oven, and with dressings of parsley and pepper and other accessions is enjoying the warmth of a covering of Coals. Pies and Cakes of all sizes and makes mingle their perfume with the odor that arises from every part of the preparations. Chickens, Eggs, Butter, Milk Preserves, &c &c all gather in and take their place—while the busy hostess

flits in and out, now with a word to the needlers and a look of gratified pleasure and pride, and then back to the regime in which all hearts are centered. At last the wonderful quilt is finished—the frames are removed, the Table spread, the Company all in, and joy unconfined rules the hour— but the 3d act is yet in store for us. The shades of night have setteld upon the scene, ere the fragments of the feast are all cleared away— but the sound of the violin expidites further preparations— and now change your partners and “well all dance a reel”....

At last the morning dawned, the fiddler fled, and after coffee and cake all round, with reluctant partings, the company scattered, and this one event, like all earthly things passed into oblivion....

We had a small farm and some stock, and except one hired man, my services were very generally in demand. We never had much success in farming— the ground was very tough & hard to cultivate—and the seasons seldom favorable[.] But Tom Turner and myself done considerable hard work. We broke the land in the Spring with 2 yoke of oxen. I usually held the plough and let Tom drive, for he could manage the Oxen better than I could, but Oxen are very exasperating at times to the best of drivers— the off ox is never contented to walk in the furrow[.] When the necks get sore, they want to lag back or lay down, and if it is hot they will run off to get to the shade....

Col Morgan was the largest stock owner on the Bay. he had a very intelligent negro man, called Turner—the same Turner mentioned in Thralls History as being in charge of the Boat load of provisions—sent by Santa Anna from New Washington & which fell into the hands of the Texians at Lynchburg[.] Well Turner was the Cols right hand man and was general Overseer & manager about home & had entire controle of the stock. So Turner was always boss of the cow crowds in hunting and geathering the stocks of the neighborhood— it was under this Capporal that I took my early lessons in the cow business. Morriss cove, Gankers Cove, Middle Bayou, and the Battle ground were the ranges that we had to hunt over away from home.

Towards the latter part of my sojourn on the Bay other cow men became prominent and influential in the range, notably Mr Dell—F R Lubbock and the Dobie brothers—Sterling & Robert. These pioneer cattle men have all passed away, save one who for

many years now has gaurded our State Treasury. Col Morgan introduced the first Durham Bull, that I ever saw in the state. Mr. Sherman brought on some fine Horse stock—but that part of the state was not favorable to the propigation of fine stock—too many Ticks flies and musquitoes— the grass is coarse, and fresh water often scarce....

About this time, say 1841, my sister made a visit to Ky—and on her return, brought with her our Sister Caroline....

Nations are sometimes brought into friendlier and closer relations by matrimonial alliances, so in time the Houses of Morgan and Sherman were united by the union of this Sister with Mr Kas Morgan, only son of the Col. Mr Kas was a college graduate, a very fine performer of the Piano, a genial pleasant gentleman, and fond of society and its pleasures—and a devotee of the water, either as sailing upon its bosom—or hunting the feathered tribes along its margin.

I remember one diversion we had during a Sept gale. A steamer loaded with cotton was sunk near Red Fish Bar— the Cargo was set afloat on the Bay—and a great many Bales drifted up on the Beach just South of the Cols place. Mr Kas and myself rescued a lot of those Bales from their watery berth—and thereby made a good many dollars as salvage.

A great many interesting and amusing incidents Occurred during all these years of my life on the Bay, but I cannot pretend to anything like a general history of those times and I am at a loss for method to just summarize the whole.

Spillmans Island was just in front of our place. It was the home of an old sea Captain from whom the Island took its name. It was a landing place for steamers passing up & down between Houston and Galveston. It was a famous hunting ground for Ducks & geese in the winter, the place was also an occasional resort for "Old Sam"—as he was at that time familiarly called....

The Bay had some rare characters. This Capt Spillman, Dave Harris and John Morris, these 3 entered into a compact that when one died the other two should gather around his bier, and with music & wine, sing "Old Rosin the Bow"—and drink and make glad the exit of the departed. Capt Hannah was the Chesterfield of the neighborhood. He was the only man among us who wore

store clothes all the time. He was a relative and sort of honorary member of the Harris family....

The wheel of fortune made another revolution and our family was transported from the Bay country to the Town of Harrisburg, on Buffalo Bayou[.] This was in the spring of 1847.

In June of that year I made a visit to Ky. My mother, Bro an aunt & cousin had come out on a visit the year previous—and now my mother and cousin returning to their home, I went with them—and it was a sad year for these dear relations that they spent in Texas. We had much sickness in the family. My aunt died[.] Two little boys, the first born of my sister Caroline had died the year previous—and though surrounded with loving children and friends, I think my mother experience in Texas was such as to make her glad to get back to her old Ky home....

Mr Clinton Harris followed this cousin of mine to Ky, married her and brought her back to Harrisburg....

I ought in justice to history and to the departed spirits that had their mortal coil shuffled off in that Bay country, to pay a fitting tribute to the two M. D. who generally figured at the bedside of the few stricken. The pair were very unlike and yet alike in many respects. Dr A.¹ was a venerable batchelor without any distinguishing characteristics, save a little native brogue, a very ruddy complexion, a rough brusque voice and manner and a sort of common appearance generally. In some manner he became domiciled at Col Morgans, and made that his home for a number of years. The other Dr B. lived across the Bay and was a man of family. He was a kind man and a good nurse—and he loved to linger where the coffee pot boiled the strongest. Now the similarity of these gentlemen consisted in the great amount of medical skill of which they were both ignorant—the uniform medicines and methods employed by both, the same course of treatment in all cases and a mutual jealousy and antagonism. I saw a little child die, whose tongue and cheek were rotted from the effect of calomel. This was B's patient. Another, a little brother, shortly died from the same disease and similar treatment. I saw a girl with brain fever rolling and screaming and frantic with pain, and burning with thirst—and begging with almost her last breath for a drink of water,

¹The designations A. and B. are substituted for the names given in the manuscript.—EDITOR QUARTERLY.

and her prayer was unanswered— this was one of Dr A's subjects. In another family the mother & daughter were stricken with fever and the daughter died under similar circumstances—the mother burning with fever and thirst and when no friendly hand would give her a drop of water she watched an opportunity & when her stern sentinel was out, she begged her little child to bring her a gourd of water— that saved her life. Alas What multitudes have been sent to untimely graves from the use and abuse of mercury and the ignorance of natural law....

I left Harrisburg in April 1849 in Company with Mr L B Harris, & wife. Harris had a wagon fitted up specially for this expedition, the bed or boddy of the wagon was built in the shape of a scow boat—both ends turned up and constructed so as to be water tight. Oars were carried on the sides and when we reached a River too deep to ford—Our Boat was placed in the water and everything ferried to the opposite shore.

Texas at that date was a vast desolate prairie from Fredricksburg to Elpasso—and from Elpasso to California. We encountered but one settlement—the Mexican town of Sante Cruix, about 200 hundred miles from the Rio Grande, and also a small village of friendly Indians on the Gila River. At the mouth of said River there was stationed a company of U S troops. Now this was a long stretch of country to pass over and we consumed nearly six months in making the trip. I will not dwell upon the many interesting incidents of this journey across the plains—for the reason that I have heretofore written of this expedition, and given the particulars of my California trip. Suffice it to say that my companions were congenial in every way, our outfit perfect in its appointments—and though our route lay through a wild waste of country more than 1200 miles in extent, the travel tedious, and many difficulties and dangers encountered—still we enjoyed the life and the varying scenes & incidents by the way—and altogether had a jolly time while making this overland trip[.]

We arrived at Los Angeles California about the first of Sept 1849. In January I reached Stockton and thence went to Woods Creek, near Sonoro in what was called the Southern mines. Now Stockton was the entrepot, emporium, or source of supply for all that country lying south of the Calevaras River—and which comprised the mining regions of the Stanislaus, Tuolumne, and

Mercedes Rivers. Everything was new when I got there, the season was a very wet one, the roads new, and travel very difficult. Stockton was a town of Tents and canvass houses and had then a population of only a few hundred— but everything was alive and full of life and hope. Gold was more plentiful than provisions, and here and in the mines for that year at least, the spirit of Religion in its earthly application held full sway. Every man was a brother, all were honest, for there was no temptation to steal, a cornucopia hung in every tent, the spirit of enterprise, of manhood, generous self denial, human sympathy, kindness and hospitality, seemed to pervade all classes and the novelty of the new life, the abundance of wealth, and the far away homesick feeling that softens the roughest parts of our nature—made a common brotherhood of the early California miners.

On Woods Creek there were not more than 50 persons when I got there and they were scattered along the creek for a mile or two. I had two companions or partners—Swearingen & Elkins, both from Eastern Texas. We had traveled by way of Stockton, to lay in a supply of provisions. We had a wagon and were enabled to replenish our purses by hauling an old German woman, her bed & other plunder and the baggage of a lot of sailors all of whom were destined for the nearest mines—about 1000 pounds at 75 cents pr pound—which was just one cent pr pound pr mile, for this load of freight.

We reached the mines in Feby— soon had our claims staked off. built us a log Cabin—and in a few days were busy digging and washing out the gold. Elkins kept the wagon running hauling freight. We soon had several thousand dollars ahead. Summer came on, the streams got low—and although we were making \$10 pr day each—we thought to do better on the River bars—and jumped our woods creek claims and moved to the Tuolumne Rivr.

This proved a bad venture, we failed to find the precious gold in any paying quantity. So now in July my firm decided to employ our time and talents in quite another direction. We started down the country to buy beef cattle. In the vicinity of San Beniventura we purchased about 200 head of splendid cattle at \$18 pr head. These cattle we took to the mines & sold out the greater part of the lot at \$50 to \$60 pr head— the remnant I took to French Camp & started a Butchery. This did not succeed well. I formed

a partnership with a Dr Earl—who one night disappeared with the profits.

My two partners were each running a freight wagon. Swearingen had had a 6 mule Team and Elkins 3 yoke of Oxen. But they were not doing any better than myself. Freight had gotten down to about 10c pr lb. Feed was high and the mule team eat up the profits of the Ox wagon. Swearingen wanted to go home, so we sold the mules, divided up and Swearingen left us.

This was in 51. Elkins & I now tried farming bought a small place near French Camp and put in a crop of Barley paid 20c pr pound for seed— had a bad year, made a poor crop and sold it in the mines at 10c[.]

We now made another diversion, moved to the mines again and spent the summer & fall in Quartz mining but this also proved unprofitable, and of course I began to cast about me for a new adventure or experiment.

Just here the wheel of fortune made another turn for me—and I must change the scene from the southern to the northern division of the state—to Sacramento That city being the Emporium of the Northern Mines—while Stockton is the emporium of the Southern Mines— but I was done with the mines, I had discovered that “all was not gold that glitters”—and I also had a sensible appreciation of the fact that I had failed to profit by the golden opportunities that surrounded me in the earlier period of my acquaintance with the mines and that money getting even in California was by this time divested of much of the promise and facination, even excitement that existed in the earlier development of the country—the cream had already been skimmed off—and the prospects for rich finds and turning up hugh nugets and stumbling on fortunes were reduced to a minimum of expectation. Change however—and adventure—were distinctive features of California life & their seductive whisperings, beconed me away to other fields[.] So I regretfully parted with good friends and pleasant associations of the past—and taking passage on the Stockton & Sacramento stage journeyed to the latter city.

Through the kindness of my friend Mr Harris—the then county clerk, I was at once installed as deputy in his office at the salary of \$200 per month. This seemed like very fair pay for the kind of service—but the position proved not to be a bonanza. City life

was expensive—with board at \$60 pr mo—washing \$3 pr Doz. and everything else in proportion, and with moderate indulgence in the pleasures and temptations—that filled the very atmosphere of social and society life in Sacramento I could not increase my Bank account as rapidly as I wished— but I saved something and with buying county scrip, at a discount and making small loans—my financial condition improved during my sojourn in Sacramento. Money loaned at 12 pr ct pr mo and the laws of California were exceedingly summary and favorable to creditors.

The courts did an immense business. The Dist Court at Sacramento held six terms a year & there was rare ever an interval of a week between terms. Hon Jno Munsen Occupied the bench during the 3 years that I served as clerk in that court. The Bar represented the finest legal talent of the state—some of whom I remember as my personal & particular friends. Lewis Sanders, Tod Robinson J. W. Winans, Jas Haggin, and Jim Hardy our Dist atty—are names that have stamped upon the records of the civil and criminal jurisprudence of the county of Sacramento the impress of brilliant and profound legal ability.

I cannot remember the population of the city at this date, say from 1853 to 1855—but certainly not less than 5 or 6 thousand. After the removal of the seat of Government to Sacramento the city grew rapidly. during my 3 years residence—I witnessed a disastrous fire which destroyed the greater part of the City including the Court House. A flood from the sacramento River—inundated a great part of the city also an earthquake which caused the houses to rock and tremble as if in a storm at sea—but California and California life was illustrated in all its phazes in Sacramento. J street was the main business thoroughfare and also presented the greatest attraction to sightseers and visitors. The Gods of Bacchus—of Terpsichore and of Mamon—possessed the city by night—and made glorious & brilliant and enchanting with music and wine and piles upon piles of gold dust and glittering coins the numerous saloons that studded the street—with this alluring temptation always in sight an with Theater going, and the many novelties and special entertainments, and the freedom and liberality of social customs that prevailed in those days—it will be seen that a young man dependent upon a clerks salary, had to be possessed of most exemplary habits—or fail in the accumulation of much wealth.

I had the pleasure of seeing & hearing most of the Dramatic Stars of that day—Forrest—Booth Murdock and many others of lesser note— also Lola Montes the famous danseuse—and Ole Bull the Violinist. I was a member of the “Suter Rifles—Volunteer company the pride of the city & also a member of the Pioneer club of Sacramento city, & during these years witnessed the rise and fall of the Know Nothing party in California....

I had many good friends in Sacramento—and my attachments were so strong, my surroundings so pleasant and my appreciation of the country so great—that I found it a great trial after six years of California life to bring myself to the determination to return to Texas—but a constant longing for the loved ones at home—and the persistent entreaties of my friend and room mate—whoes term of Office expired in the fall of 1855—turned the scale and in Oct of that year I bade adieu to California and all its pleasant associations.

But this diary would be an unfaithful record of my California experience were I to omit some mention of an old friend, from whom and from whose family—I received so much Kindness—Col James Lansing.¹ At one time [he] owned the Sulphur Springs on the Cibolo—in western Texas—and tried to make the Place a health resort—the venture not succeeding or the California fever having gotten the better of him, to use a common expression “he pulled up stakes”[.] he moved with his family to the golden state and settled at a place called French camp 5 miles from Stockton[.] the family consisted of his wife and daughters[.] The Col kept tavern or a way side inn and the wife and daughters did the honors as well as most of the work of the house— Mrs. L was an English lady and very refined and cultivated and the daughters were brought up under the stricest discipline. I had the pleasure to enjoy the confidence & friendship of this excelent family. It may be that I owe my life to their kind & watchful attention when I was sick unto death with measles....

In Oct 1855 as I have said we turned our faces homeward and a few hours run on the water brought us to San Francisco—now grown to the dimensions of a city indeed. So rapid and wonderful

¹The words, “Probably well remembered in Western Texas,” are interlined towards the end of this sentence without indicating exactly where they belong.—EDITOR QUARTERLY.

had been the improvement in the place since my visit in 49 that no possible stretch of the imagination could have prepared me for the change. Instead of a few hundred canvass houses and tents resembling a miners camp on the diggings—now I meandered the streets of a city of stone & brick and iron fronts—and many storys—and paved sidewalks—and every appliance, convenience and embellishment of the modern emporium—but the history and praises of San Francisco are too well Known at this day and time to invite a description of its character & reputation from me[.]

Leaving the shores of California through the “Golden Gate” On the fine pacific Steamer “Golden city” we had a most pleasant trip down the coast to Panama, touching only at Acapulco On the way— this place affords probably the best harbor on the pacific coast except San Francisco—a small Mexican town on the Edge of the Bay just within the entrance to the harbor—is all there is of Acapulco—except always about a hundred.....natives male & female of all ages and sizes that sport in the beautiful waters like the otters along the Ocean beach.

At Panama we disembarked from the good ship and entered the cars of the Panama R. R. and in about 3 hours reached Aspinwall—distance from Ocean to Ocean about 60 miles— Panama is just a little north of the Equator—and apparently much nearer the infernal regions. I dont remember the temperature of the istmus—but the heat was very oppressive. My companions, ever thoughtful of mans comfort and physical wants—had secured a big bucket of ice water—and various bottles of the ice cold drinks—palm leaf Fans, and the indispensable Havana accompaniment—and with the novelty of the trip—the wonderful scenery, the Flora and Fauna that abounded on all sides and the frolicsome little Apes that sported among the trees—and the marvellous luxuriance of this equitorial region—all tended to make this passage across the continent pleasant & interesting[.]

Aspinwall seemed to be a very neat and considerably Americanized [town] Only a few hundred population & the business of the place—as far as I could see was confined the R R and steam-ship traffic—and the eating houses and saloons that are always present where people congregate.

The steam ship Potomac—not the good ship Potomac—but the old & rickety Ship Potomac, was here ready to receive the passen-

gers of the Pacific steamer—and in a few hours we were all on board and away for New York[.] The voyage was without incident except that when we reach the gulf stream off the coast of Florida where I believe it is nearly always rough sailing on account of the prevailing wind running counter to the course of the gulf stream—the old Potomac rolled and tumbled and labored and groaned as if she had a bad attack of the Botts. The water in the hold would slosh from side to side as the vessel careened this way or that—and I was reminded of my experience in the war ship Zavalla, when off the coast of Yucatan in 1839. But we reach our destination in safety—and therefore I apologize to the dear old ship for any insinuation that may be infered as to her character and reputation, on this our last water voyage— The fare on both vessels was good the weather for the most part pleasant—fare from San Francisco to N Y—\$250. Senator Gwyn of California— & Col Jack Hays & family—Jack Hays of Texas our Ranger Capt Jack Hays were Companions de voyage[.]....

Well we are in the great city of New York—took rooms at the St Nicholas....

The weather was cold and I saw but little of the city[.] Dont remember what I did see[.] It was a great big city then, it is a great big city now—it controles the wealth of the Nation and all the People of this great Country are but “hewers of wood and drawers of water” [for] the great Metropolis of the North.

A ride from N Y to Ky is not devoid of interest, albeit it is the dead of winter and [the] face of the earth covered with snow[.] to One unaccustomed to R. R. travel the breakneck speed of the cars and the eternal screaming and whistling of the Engine—the grinding of the breaks, and slowing up of the train every few minutes as if about to collide with another train or to jump into or over a stream or some imminent peril Kept your nerves at tension—and your anxiety at highest pitch—and with the halting and jerking of the Cars you are in as much danger of losing your seat, as if On the back of a Texas broncho[.] But there is some Compensation, the scenery is as changeable as a Kaleidoscope[.] Hills and Vales and Rivers and Mountains—Towns, Farm houses and stock in endless Variety all these passed and passed again in rapid succession, gives interest and zest to your ride and in some way smothers the fear you feel for your life[.]

We laid Over One day in Philadelphia[.] It was Sunday and a bright lovely day and every body was out to enjoy it. The population seemed chiefly females[.] In N Y—the streets were crowded mainly with men—here the women had the right of way and appeared to the greatest advantage. I thought I had never seen so many pretty women in my life. We had some fair specimens in Sacramento—but nothing in my imagination could equal the beauty of these Quaker girls—and while feasting upon their pretty faces my mind ran back to my friend the village blacksmith at French Camp, who entreated me to come with him to his home in Penna promising me the greatest honors and most delightful pleasures that society, friends and lovely girls could give. I have Often wondered if the half he told me could be true—but as I cannot vouch for him I will not quote him....

My stay in Ky this time was brief, and yet longer than any subsequent visit being as I remember about two months....

The Stedman paper mill was in full blast at that time—quite a village had grown up around the Mill....

And so after spending a pleasant visit of a few months at the old home—I again said Good Bye to the loved ones—and turned my steps for Texas—going by way of North Carolina to visit my sick Sister—Mrs Morgan who with her husband were sojourning in that state. The weather was intensely cold, deep snow on the ground—and the rivers frozen Over—but the iron horse ploughed its way along, crossed the Mountains to Washington city, thence to Baltimore—where leaving the cars I took passage on a Steamer, down the Chesapeek to Norfolk—crossed over to Portsmouth and thence by rail again to the little town of Murfreesborough N. C., my destination.

I found my sister Convalescing, but I remained with her two weeks—and then resumed my journey southward, passing through Atlanta Montgomery & Mobile to N. O. and thence by Steamer to Galveston[.] Once again on Texas soil, the very fact possessed me with a homelike feeling—here were the scenes of much of my Midshipman experience and the ties which severed me from loved Ones at Harrisburg in April 1849 were here reunited in the family of Genl Sherman—who had moved to Galveston and at this time was Keeping the Island city Hotel.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF SAN JACINTO.¹

JAMES WASHINGTON WINTERS.

I was born in Giles county, Tennessee, January 21, 1817. I came to Texas from Memphis, Tennessee, with my father and all his family. Mr. Bankhead and his family came with us. We came through Arkansas on the Trammell's Trace. In Arkansas Mr. Geo. Lamb, who was on horseback, joined us, and remained with us all the time, even after reaching Texas. Bankhead never obtained any lands, but just rented. He was taken sick and died soon after his arrival. Lamb eventually married Bankhead's widow.

My father's family located in the "Big Thicket," between the eastern and western prongs of the San Jacinto river. When we heard of Cos's entry into Texas we were among the volunteers who started out to repel him. When my father, my brothers, and I reached San Felipe, on the Brazos, we heard that Cos had already been whipped out of the State. We met Sam Houston, who told us to go back home and make all the corn we could, for in the spring would come the clash. This was late in the fall, about December, 1835. I was then about eighteen years of age.

On March 12, 1836, about eighteen of us organized a company on the San Bernard; we chose William Ware captain, Job Collard first lieutenant, George Lamb second lieutenant, Albert Gallatin

¹Contributed by Mrs. A. B. Looscan, historian of the Daughters of the Republic. The narrative of Mr. Winters was recounted at the residence of Mrs. M. J. Briscoe in Houston, June 7, 1901, in the presence of Mrs. Briscoe, Mrs. Looscan, Miss Belle Fenn, Miss Adina de Zavala, Mr. P. Briscoe—part of the time—and Mr. Winters's son.

Mr. Winters had just been serving as the appointee of the Texas Veterans' Association to assist in designating important localities on the San Jacinto battle ground, which were marked by the San Jacinto Chapter of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas.

The narrative which follows is the result of what might be termed an interview, different members of the party asking questions, and the answers being written down by Miss de Zavala and Mrs. Looscan, the whole afterwards being read to and certified by Mr. Winters. Though the circumstances of its construction have given the narrative some irregularities, it has been thought best to retain them.—EDITOR QUARTERLY.

first sergeant, William Winters second sergeant. We went to Denese crossing on the Colorado with the intention of keeping the Mexicans from crossing. We acted independently, without instructions from any one. Houston, at Beason's on the Colorado, sent orders for us to fall back. We did so, marching to the prairie between the Colorado and the San Bernard. Here we joined Houston, our company by this time being composed of from 100 to 200 men. From here we marched to San Felipe, thence to Groce's. I do not remember seeing Moseley Baker; do not think he came to the army.

At Groce's the artillery was sent for—two iron 6-pounders. We remained in the bottom until they arrived. The steamer Yellowstone was in waiting, and Houston crossed his army on this. We camped on the other side and worked all night preparing cartridges for the cannon.

Early next morning we received orders to commence a forced march in the direction of Harrisburg. Our next camp was at Donohue's. Our march was continued the following morning, and the next stop was at McCurley's. The weather was very bad all the time. We now stopped in succession at Cypress creek, at the head of a little bayou, and opposite Harrisburg. A little after 12 a. m. Deaf Smith crossed over to the last named place and captured Santa Anna's courier with valuable papers containing information as to the route of the Mexican army. We were then ordered forward with all the speed possible that we might intercept Santa Anna at Lynch's ferry. I never heard any talk as to Houston's not designing to fight; or of officers or men insisting on his taking the road to Harrisburg; or of any one doubting his intention to do so. We went as straight as we could go towards Harrisburg. Mrs. Mann did take her oxen from the ammunition wagon before we got to camp at McCurley's. She needed them herself. They had been pressed into service by our wagon master. Mrs. Mann went after them herself and took them from the wagon. The boys had a good joke on the wagon master, and they did not forget to use it.

The wagons were left at Harrisburg. I saw men pulling the cannon there. There may have been horses there, but I don't remember seeing any. Roer [Rohrer] was wagon master.

We crossed the bayou about two miles below Harrisburg, just below Sims' bayou. We fixed up the old ferry boat with flooring

from Mrs. Batterson's house and some new lumber which we found there, and took over the cannon. It took all day to cross.

We lost no time after crossing in taking up our forced march, and never halted until late that night, between two o'clock and daylight. Houston ordered a halt that the men might get a little rest, as they had been working and marching through mud and water for several days. I did not get to rest as I was on guard duty.

It was Houston's intention to try to head off the Mexican army at Lynch's ferry, and he was in such haste that we had no time to prepare meals or to eat them. On the morning of April 20, as soon as we could see we set out for the ferry. Immediately after arriving there, one of our spies came running in with the information that Santa Anna was near us. Houston immediately ordered his men to turn and march back to a small grove of timber, distributing them along the bank for protection. We no sooner got settled in our positions than the Mexicans opened fire on us with their artillery. There was more or less skirmishing all day. I never heard of any talk of the Texans building a bridge for retreat. Houston intended to fight and fight to a finish.

After the first onslaught the Mexicans fell back, and we got our breakfast.

When we first reached Lynch's ferry we saw a sail coming up the bayou. Houston ordered a squad of men to see what it was and capture it. I heard the reports of firing as we continued our march. It was a ferry flat which Santa Anna had previously captured. It was loaded with flour and supplies, and was also intended to transport Santa Anna and his army across the bayou. The supplies were very timely for the Texans.

Sherman was in command of the infantry, but with Houston's approval and permission he called for volunteers, who could obtain horses to attempt the capture of the Mexican artillery. Houston sent out Burleson's men to support Sherman and cover his retreat if necessary. The attempt was not successful. Two men were wounded, one of whom afterwards died.

The next morning, April 21, a council of war was held. Some-time before noon, Houston passed around among the men gathered at the campfires and asked us if we wanted to fight. We replied with a shout that we were most anxious to do so. Then Houston

replied, "Very well, get your dinners and I will lead you into the fight, and if you whip them every one of you shall be a captain".

There had been so many "split ups" and differences that Houston preferred the opinions of the men themselves, feeling that before hazarding battle he must find whether they would enter the engagement with a will. For the men had marched so long without food or rest that, perhaps, they might not be physically prepared.

I never heard orders given as to Vince's bridge. I heard that Deaf Smith had asked permission to cut it down. I never heard that Vince's bridge was mentioned in any address to the army, or any prominence given to the fact that it had been destroyed.

After leaving Harrisburg, I saw no wagon transports. We packed all there was on our backs.

After dinner the men were ready for battle. I was in Sherman's division—left wing of attack—but under my own captain, Wm. Ware. Rusk started out with us, but turned and went with the artillery. When we ran over the ridge we lost sight of the rest. On beginning the battle, before we got in sight of the Mexicans, they began firing at us. They were lying down in the grass. We examined the places where many had been, and found as many as five ends of cartridges where each Mexican lay, so supposed that each man had fired at us as many as five times before we reached them. Their breastworks were composed of baggage, saddle bags, and brush, in all about four or five feet high. There was a gap eight or ten feet wide through which they fired the cannon. I saw Houston in the midst of the enemy's tents near the first regiment to the right. A Mexican officer tried to rally his men, but was soon dispatched by a rifle ball and fell from his horse. Our regiment passed beyond the Mexican's breastworks before we knew it, while our other two regiments came up in front of them, so then we did them up in short order. I never heard any halt ordered. We never halted. The battle was won in fifteen or eighteen minutes. The Mexican cavalry broke in disorder, while ours was hotly pursuing them. Houston had two horses killed from under him, and was on his third one before he passed the Mexican's works. We ran and fought fully two miles.

After the fight was ended Houston gave orders to form in line and march back to camp, but we payed no attention to him, as we

were all shaking hands and rejoicing over the victory. Houston gave the order three times and still the men payed no attention to him. And he turned his horse around and said "Men, I can gain victories with you, but damn your manners," and rode on to camp.

Joel Robinson and Sylvester brought in Santa Anna. I was there when he was brought in; was digging the grave to bury our eight men. They passed by us and halted at our guard lines. The Mexican prisoners clapped their hands, and gave other signs of joy, shouting, "Santa Anna, Santa Anna!" I dropped my tools and followed after them to Houston, who was lying on his cot at the camp near the bayou. Santa Anna introduced himself, and they began to talk.

I do not know who captured Cos, but he was the most frightened man I ever saw. He covered his head with a blanket. I could see it tremble twenty feet off.

The greatest slaughter in the battle occurred between the breast-works and the lake; here the Mexicans and horses killed made a bridge across the bayou.

General Wharton tried to get us to cease and grabbed a Mexican and pulled him up behind him on his horse, saying that was his Mexican, but Jim Curtis shot the Mexican. The Mexican infantry near the lake would jump in occasionally and would dive to get away from our shots, but the minute they would raise their heads they were picked off by our men.

Only a few followed the flying Mexicans to Vince's bayou; the Mexicans finding the bridge burned, tried to cross, but their horses bogged. Only one of those trying to cross there got away—all the others were shot.

When Santa Anna was brought into camp some called out "Shoot him, hang him!" General Houston ordered the men who made these threats taken away. Next day after the battle, finding that many Mexicans were hidden in the marsh grass, some one set fire to the grass and burned or smoked them out. In this way about forty were captured. One who tried to run was shot. The same day I found a dead Mexican who had silver in his belt—about ten dollars. The money had slipped out when he was shot. Orders were given that all money found be brought in to headquarters. I turned this in. Money so captured was distributed to the soldiers, the amount so distributed averaging almost \$11 per man. Santa

Anna's handsomely ornamented saddle was held up and the men voted that it should be given to General Houston. Other officers' saddles were sold. One brought as high as \$300.

I certify that the above statement is correct, or as nearly correct as I can remember.

J. W. WINTERS.

THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE IN TEXAS.¹

EUGENE C. BARKER.

In its fourfold character of Spanish territory, Mexican province, independent republic, and State of the Union, Texas has a most dramatic history, not the least interesting phase of which is the trace of the African slave trade running dimly through each period of its evolution—even the last, it seems probable. The beginnings of the traffic here take one back to the days when Napoleon, just through juggling with the map of Europe, had begun his weary imprisonment in St. Helena, and Ferdinand VII. was vainly trying to re-establish the shattered authority of Spain over his revolting American subjects.

In Mexico the Spanish cause was staunchly upheld by a strong party of royalists, and as vigorously contested by enthusiastic republicans. During a temporary ascendancy of the latter in 1813, a declaration of independence was issued, and two years later Manuel Herrera was appointed minister to the United States—where he received, of course, no official attention. His government being soon eclipsed by the royalists, he took up his residence in New Orleans, which warmly sympathized with the Mexican rebels, and rallied around him all of his countrymen who had fled from Mexico, as well as a considerable number of adventurous Americans. With these he determined to wrest at least a foothold from the tottering Bourbon empire, and chose that hold to be in Texas. In the fall of 1816, therefore, with some twelve or fifteen small vessels, of the self-styled republics of Mexico, Venezuela, La Plata, and New Granada, he sailed to the island of Galveston and by the authority of his office as plenipotentiary of the Mexican republic, set up a

¹It may be as well to say at once that the African slave trade never reached any considerable proportions in Texas. That it did not was due in part, no doubt, to the law-abiding character of most of the population; but chiefly, perhaps, to the fact that Texas did not begin her great development until after the activity of the United States and England had given the traffic its death-blow. Such as it was, however, it was interesting, and that is this paper's sole *raison d'être*. The scanty documentary material upon the subject I have gathered from time to time while collecting matter on the Texas revolution.

government, in which Louis de Aury, a Frenchman, sometime commandant-general of the naval forces of New Granada, was appointed governor, commander of the fleet, and judge of the court of admiralty.¹

This extraordinary combination of powers De Aury wielded with the greatest facility and convenience: as governor of the province, he issued privateering commissions to his flotilla; swept the Gulf for Spanish merchantmen, as commodore of the Mexican navy; and adjudicated the prizes in his own court of admiralty. He plied a brisk business, and among the vessels captured off the coasts of the West Indies were many fully laden slavers. The disposition of these unfortunate cargoes became an urgent problem; for at Galveston there was no need of them, and throughout the rest of Texas, inhabited as it then was, chiefly by Indians, there was no better market. The difficulty was settled by some of De Aury's recruits from the United States, who smuggled the negroes into Louisiana and sold them even in the suburbs of New Orleans. Thus Texas began her novitiate in the traffic as a kind of supply house for Louisiana. Other than human merchandise, too, was introduced in this way; and perhaps there was collusion between De Aury's men and the revenue officers. At any rate, on August 1, 1817, the collector of customs at New Orleans, in a report to the secretary of state, admitted his impotence to remedy "the most shameful violations of the slave act, as well as our revenue laws, . . . by a motley mixture of freebooters and smugglers, at Galveston, under the Mexican flag."²

But, when De Aury abandoned the island in the summer of 1817 to join Mina's filibustering expedition against Soto la Marina, and Jean Lafitte pounced upon it for his own headquarters,³ the smuggling of Africans began in earnest. This remarkable man had already acquired experience and much notoriety as chief of the piratical establishment of Barrataria, on the Island of Grand Terre, some sixty miles west of the Mississippi delta. Beginning his operations there in the early days of Jefferson's embargo against Great Britain and France, he maintained himself for seven years, despite the repeated efforts of the Louisiana government to dislodge

¹Yoakum, *History of Texas*, I 181.

²Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, II 36, note 4.

³Yoakum, *History of Texas*, I 190.

him. And it was not until the aid of the United States was invoked and Commodore Patterson was sent against him in the summer of 1814 with a little fleet of gunboats that the bandits were dispersed.¹ Some of the largest merchants of Louisiana were Lafitte's factors, and his goods were handled almost openly in the streets of New Orleans.²

When Lafitte resumed at Galveston, therefore, in 1817, the industry which the United States had interrupted in 1814 and the British investment of New Orleans had entirely crushed in 1815, his old commercial affiliations were revived, and his intimate knowledge of the bays and bayous of the Louisiana coast enabled him to defy the custom officers. Taking the cue from his predecessor, however, he thought it prudent to fortify his establishment with at least the semblance of legitimacy; wherefore the island was again declared a republican province, a full corps of officers was elected, and allegiance vowed to Mexico. Not deterred by the trifling circumstance that no qualified representative of that government was present to administer the oath, citizen Luis Iturribarria swore Governor Louis Derieux, and the rest of the cabinet then took the oath to the governor.³ A frank avowal of their purpose subsequently made by John Ducoing, their judge of admiralty, was that of "capturing Spanish property under what they called the Mexican flag, but without any idea of aiding the revolution in Mexico, or that of any of the revolted Spanish colonies."⁴

Probably Lafitte took the trouble to procure letters of marque against Spain from one of the infantine Latin republics—possibly from two or three of them—but this, like his government at Galveston, was the merest formality, and practically it mattered little to him and his desperate followers whether the vessels they captured were Spanish or not, so their cargoes were heavy and their guns light. As with De Aury, the bulk of his prizes were intercepted off the West Indies, and a fair proportion of them being slavers, Galveston Island would quickly have assumed in population the appearance of a miniature Guinea coast, had not the buccaneers

¹Barb  -Marbois, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, 414.

²*De Bow's Review*, July, 1851.

³Yoakum, *History of Texas*, I 453.

⁴*Ibid.*, 455.

manifested considerable ingenuity in hurrying their blacks on to the United States, and by judicious advertising and discriminating canvassing maintained an approximate equilibrium between the demand and the supply.

Probably most of the purchasing in Louisiana was done from agents who transmitted the orders to Galveston and contracted for the delivery of the negroes at specified places. The most popular of these depots were at the mouths of the Sabine, Calcasieu, and Bayou Lafourche, or in some of the numerous inlets of Barrataria Bay. But occasionally careful individuals who preferred to buy only upon personal inspection went to Galveston and selected their negroes, afterwards paying for them upon delivery at one of the sub-depositories.¹

Perhaps the most successful salesmen of Lafitte's plant were the three Bowie brothers, Resin P., James, and John J. By the account of the last, which there seems little reason to doubt, their profits in this trade from 1818 to 1820 were \$65,000.² And when he tells us that the price of negroes at Galveston was a dollar a pound, or an average of a hundred and forty dollars per man, some idea may be obtained of the magnitude of this branch of Lafitte's business. Upon one occasion, says his brother, while James Bowie was convoying alone a lot of slaves through the wilds of Eastern Texas, they escaped from him as he slept and were captured by a wandering band of Comanches. He followed them as far as the head of the Colorado river, but was forced to give up the pursuit there and abandon his property. It is not likely that the unfortunate negroes profited greatly by their change of masters, though the historian Thrall is authority for the statement that in the early days many Indians of Western Texas were decidedly negroid countenances.³

One of Bowie's statements, bearing all the ear-marks of truth, casts an interesting light upon the defectiveness of congressional legislation against the importation of slaves. It will be remembered that the bill which President Jefferson approved on March 2, 1807, to prohibit the slave trade after January 1 of the following year—the earliest date possible under the Constitution—was, like

¹Yoakum, *History of Texas*, I 183-4.

²*De Bow's Review*, XIII 381.

³Thrall, *Pictorial History of Texas*, 129.

most laws dealing with slavery, the result of a compromise. The committee which reported the bill had a great deal of difficulty in deciding upon the disposition of negroes smuggled in contrary to the law and apprehended by the customs officers. Chairman Early, of Georgia, proposed that they be sold at auction, and likened such treatment to the sale of "demijohns of brandy confiscated under the revenue laws." One of the members recommended that they be freed, and another that they be returned to Africa;¹ but the last proposition being clearly impracticable, and the other two bitterly objectionable to sectional partisans, the committee finally agreed to recommend that the settlement of the question be left to the separate States—which, in effect, of course, was an acceptance of Early's proposal. And so the law was passed. Observe its workings: most of the Southern States, presumably, passed laws authorizing the sale of the captives. And Bowie avers that he often sold his negroes to Louisiana slave companies, who, wishing to validate their titles to them that they might safely ship them up the Mississippi, where a slave brought an average price of \$1000, surrendered them to customs officers who, according to the law, resold them as "imported slaves." The companies always bought them back and received, as informers, a rebate of half their purchase money.²

At last, in 1821, Lafitte, grown too bold in his privateering, was compelled by the United States to evacuate Galveston, and with his departure ceased for a dozen years the pernicious traffic which he had maintained. That he was so long left there unmolested was due to the protests of the Spanish minister as often as the United States had threatened action against him. For, though Spain was always the chief sufferer in his depredations, she feared relief which could only come as the result of foreign interference in territory which she claimed as her own.³

When the next cargo of Africans was landed at Galveston, a market had been created for them in Texas. For Mexico established her independence in 1821, and confirmed to Stephen F. Austin the grant previously made to his father by the Spanish authorities to settle three hundred families in Texas. So much success attended

¹*Abridgement of the Debates of Congress, 1806-1807, passim.*

²*De Bow's Review*, XIII 381.

³*Yoakum, History of Texas*, I 195.

this undertaking that during the five years following 1825 grants were made to a dozen or more individuals, each of whom contracted to settle from two hundred to eight hundred families. And, though none of these *empresarios* save Austin quite fulfilled his contract, the number of immigrants introduced by 1830 reached perhaps 20,000.¹ After that date Mexico became alarmed for her province, and sought to discourage immigration, but despite her efforts the Anglo-American population rapidly increased. But in Mexico, where a system of peonage obtained which allowed employers all the conveniences with none of the attendant disadvantages and odium of slave-holding, sentiment opposed slavery. A decree of the constituent congress, issued July 13, 1824, prohibited the slave trade, domestic or foreign, in the most emphatic terms, and the constitution of Coahuila and Texas, promulgated in 1827, forbade, after six months, the further introduction of slaves into its territory, and provided for the general emancipation of those already in. The Mexicans objected to the name rather than the institution, however, and when immigrants devised the ingenious scheme of converting their blacks into servants indented for life, the Legislature gave the subterfuge legal sanction.² And when President Guerrero, in 1829, by virtue of the extraordinary power with which he had been invested issued a decree emancipating the slaves throughout the republic, he made special exception of those in Texas.³

Indeed, under some name, negro slavery, it may be said, was absolutely essential to the development of Texas. The land was a wilderness upon which single laborers could make but hopelessly little impression, and free labor was not available, even had the colonists possessed the money to pay for it. Moreover, the most fertile soil lay in the bottoms of the Brazos, Colorado, and Trinity—where, to this day, the virulent malaria necessitates almost exclusive use of negro labor—and thus another argument, if such were needed, was furnished for the use of slaves. Even such men as Stephen F. Austin, who were personally opposed to the institution, recognized and bowed to the necessity.

It is not surprising, therefore, that a few of the colonists with

¹Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, II 76.

²*Laws and Decrees of Coahuila and Texas*, 103.

³*Political Science Quarterly*, XIII 655-656.

neither negroes nor the means to buy them at the current price in the United States succumbed to the temptation of importing the equally efficient but cheaper commodity new from Africa, by way of Cuba. But that this practice was condemned by the bulk of the colonists is evident from a set of resolution passed by the convention which met at San Felipe de Austin in April, 1833, to memorialize the Mexican Congress for the separation of Texas from her overbearing yokefellow, Coahuila. Being informed that a vessel had just arrived in Galveston Bay, "direct from the Island of Cuba, laden with negroes recently from the African coast," the convention resolved that, "we do hold in utter abhorrence all participation, whether direct or indirect, in the African Slave Trade; that we do concur in the general indignation which has been manifested throughout the civilized world against that inhuman and unprincipled traffic; and we do therefore earnestly recommend to our constituents, the good people of Texas, that they will not only abstain from all concern in that abominable traffic, but that they will unite their efforts to prevent the evil from polluting our shores; and will aid and sustain the civil authorities in detecting and punishing any similar attempt for the future." The framers of the resolution expressed a "proud satisfaction in the belief that the late shameful violation of law . . . was perpetrated by transient foreign adventurers," and by way of advertising their abiding disapproval of such commerce, it was ordered that the resolution be published in the *Texas Advocate*, the sole newspaper of Texas, in the press of New Orleans, and in the various papers "throughout the Mexican republic." Their moral "abhorrence," too, was diplomatically deepened by the political conviction that trade of any sort, as they naïvely expressed it, with Cuba, which was a Spanish possession, was treason to Mexico.¹

Nevertheless, within ten months of the issuance of this official protest, three prominent citizens braved public opinion by landing at Galveston a full cargo of blacks that they had obtained from Cuban traders. The story as I have it is from Mr. W. P. Zuber, of Iola, Texas.² They found, on reaching Cuba, that the coast was

¹Clipping from *The Texas Republican*, June, 1835.—Austin Papers.

²Mr. Zuber is a member of the Texas Veterans' Association, and came to Texas several years prior to the revolution. I have corresponded with all the members of the association—numbering about fifty,—and though most

patrolled by a United States frigate, and adopted an ingenious way of outwitting her commander. Haranguing several hundred negroes through an interpreter, the leader described Texas as a country greatly superior to Cuba, and asked them to go there with him voluntarily. In return for their passage they were to serve him three years, and were then to receive their freedom with the means necessary for supporting themselves. For such as volunteered he paid the dealer, and, after they had duly signed with their marks the contracts of indenture, embarked them, and cleared from Havana with a cargo of free colored emigrants. Thus they could not technically be seized as imported slaves, and proceeded to Texas without molestation. Before landing, however, the partners had their emigrants sign another paper, which abrogated the previous contract, and bound them to serve their masters for ninety-nine years.

It is also said¹ that J. W. Fannin brought a hundred Africans to Texas in 1835. Certain it is that he had a number of slaves, for on November 6, 1835, while engaged in the siege of San Antonio, he wrote to the President of the Convention, at San Felipe, and offered to empower that body "to sell, hypothecate, or otherwise dispose of all my property in Texas, consisting of *thirty-six* negroes now on Caney creek and Brazos river to meet the purchase of" war material.²

It was during this period, too, that Monroe Edwards began to import negroes. The only reference which I have found to his operations at this time, however, is contained in a letter from Retson Morris to the Alcalde at Nacogdoches, advancing his claim to two Africans that had been rescued there from a man named Blunt. Morris says that they, "together with 120 more," were left in his

of them remember in a general way that the African slave trade was carried on, I found only six who could give me particular information. It is thought best to withhold the names of those who engaged in this expedition.

¹By Mr. Zuber and another of my correspondents, B. F. Highsmith, of Utopia, Texas.

²Archives of Texas, File 6, No. 559, Diplomatic Correspondence. See, also, Thrall, *Pictorial History of Texas*, 532.

charge by Monroe Edwards, and that they escaped from him during the Mexican invasion of Texas.¹

The war of the Texas revolution began in the fall of 1835, and on March 2, 1836, became a war of independence. The resulting disorganization of the government, Edwards and others found particularly favorable to the introduction of considerable numbers of slaves, as is shown by a letter dated March 2, 1836, from William S. Fisher, collector for the port of Velasco, to Provisional Governor Henry Smith. He writes: "The schooner Shenandoah entered this port on the 28th ult. and proceeded up the river, without reporting. I immediately pursued her. . . . We overhauled the vessel that night, and found that the negroes had been landed—the negroes were, however, found during the night. The negroes I have given up to Mr. Edwards (the owner) on his giving bond and security to the amount of their value, to be held subject to the decision of the government. Sterling McNeil landed a cargo of negroes (Africans) on the coast. I endeavored to seize the vessel, but was unsuccessful—This traffic in African negroes is increasing daily, and as no law has emanated directly from the Council in relation to this matter, I am very much in need of instruction. The number of negroes landed from the Shenandoah is 171."²

This letter was referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs, who refused to recommend any action concerning it, on the ground that "said letter is of such a nature as to involve several important legal questions which your committee do not consider come under the sphere of their duties; inasmuch as the private rights of several of our valued and respected citizens are therein involved. Yet," they continue, "your committee have no hesitancy in reporting their

¹Retson Morris to George Pollitt, July 26, 1836.—Archives of Texas, File 13, No. 1275, Diplomatic Correspondence.

²William S. Fisher to Henry Smith, March 2, 1836.—Archives of Texas, File 6, No. 567, Diplomatic Correspondence. Edwards says (*Life and Adventures of Col. Monroe Edwards*, p. 31) that his cargo numbered 185 when he left Cuba. Edwards had as a silent partner in this expedition a man named Dart, of Natchez, Mississippi. Dart furnished the money for the purchase of the negroes and he and Edwards were to share the profits equally. As we have seen, Edwards retained all the negroes in Texas, pending their sale, and eventually forged Dart's name to a bill of sale conveying the latter's share to himself. Of this and other forgeries he was finally convicted and sent to Sing Sing.—*Life and Adventures of Col. Monroe Edwards*, 36-53.

views and belief of the extreme impolicy of either covertly or indirectly countenancing a traffic which has called forth the indignation of nearly the whole civilized world.”¹

It seems likely, however, that Fisher’s letter did not pass altogether without effect; for in the first constitution of the republic of Texas, adopted by the convention just a fortnight later, the “importation or admission of Africans or negroes into this republic, excepting from the United States of America, is forever prohibited and declared to be piracy.” The President *ad interim*, David G. Burnet, as soon as possible after the removal of the government to Harrisburg issued a proclamation—on April 3, 1836—calling attention to this constitutional prohibition, and “commanding and requiring all officers, Naval and Military, and all collectors and other Functionaries of the Government, to be vigilant and active in detecting and defeating any attempt to violate said article, and to seize . . . any persons . . . or Vessels, with their equipment, tackle, &c. . . . on board of which any Africans or Negroes, so attempted to be imported may be found.”²

After the successful termination of the war with Mexico, Texas naturally entered upon a period of very rapid development and the temptation to import slaves became correspondingly greater. The subject came to the attention of the government again in December, 1836, and Stephen F. Austin, Secretary of State, wrote to William H. Wharton, Minister to the United States, and instructed him to ask the co-operation of that government in crushing the traffic. He said:

“It has lately come to the knowledge of this Gov’t. through the channel of common rumor, sustained by the statements of several persons of known veracity, that extensive projects are in contemplation to introduce African negro slaves into this country by citizens of the United States in a manner that will equally violate the laws of the United States and the constitutional provisions of this Republic on the subject.

“It is intended, as we have been informed, to land said African slaves on the sea shore, east of the Sabine river, or on the east bank of the Sabine within the limits of the United States and then re-

¹Report of Committee to whom was referred letter of W. S. Fisher.—Archives of Texas, File 6, No. 566, Diplomatic Correspondence.

²Telegraph and Texas Register, August 16, 1836.

ship them to this country, and thus attempt to bring such introduction of slaves under that clause of our constitution which admits them from the United States exclusively.

"This attempt to evade the prohibition of the African slave trade, contained in our constitution certainly will not be sustained by the tribunals of this Republic, but it is also desirable that the Gov't. of the United States should be apprised of such attempts to carry on a piratical commerce by her own citizens through her territory and in American vessels."¹

Whether Wharton ever succeeded in getting this information before the United States government is unknown, but the first Congress of Texas, which was still in session, took up the matter, and enacted that, any person convicted of introducing African negroes from any foreign country, except the United States, should suffer death without benefit of clergy. In order that no technical loophole might be afforded for the evasion of the law, it was at the same time provided that such slaves as were brought from the United States must previously have been legally held there.²

This law was passed in the beginning of the first administration of Sam Houston, who displaced President Burnet in October, 1836, but in his message to the special session of Congress, in May, 1837, Houston thought it necessary to again advert to the subject. He said: "It cannot be disbelieved that thousands of Africans have lately been imported to the Island of Cuba, with the design to transport a large portion of them into this Republic. This unholy and cruel traffic has called down the reprobation of the humane and just of all civilized nations. Our abhorrence to it is clearly expressed in our constitution and laws. Nor has it rested alone upon the declaration of our policy, but has long since been a subject of representation to the Government of the United States, our ministers apprising it of every fact which would enable it to devise such means as would prevent either the landing or introduction of Africans into our country.

"The naval force of Texas not being in a situation to be diverted from our immediate defence, will be a sufficient reason why the Government of the United States and England should employ such

¹Austin to Wharton, December 16, 1836.—Archives of Texas, File 1, No. 66, Diplomatic Correspondence.

²Act of December 21, 1836, Gammel's *Laws of Texas*, I 1257-58.

a portion of their forces in the Gulf as will at once arrest the accursed trade, and redeem this Republic from the suspicion of connivance, which would be as detrimental to its character as the practice is repugnant to the feelings of its citizens. Should the traffic continue, the odium cannot rest upon us, but will remain a blot upon the escutcheon of nations who have power, and withhold their hand from the work of humanity."¹

In consonance with the President's message, General Memucan Hunt, Texan envoy to the United States, was instructed by a dispatch, dated May 25, 1837, to inform the State Department of another scheme to introduce slaves identical with that reported by Austin the preceding December. This he did in a formal note to Secretary Forsyth, on July 18. Mr. Forsyth replied immediately, asking for more definite information: "What grounds has Texas for believing the undertaking is to be attempted? Who are the actors? When and where are the negroes to be landed?" One cannot but applaud the Texan's slightly sarcastic and entirely self-respecting answer that, "the precise time at which it is to be done, and who they are proposing or intending to do this was not communicated" to him, but that "should the government of Texas ascertain where and at what time this or any other company may intend to land negroes from Cuba near Texas, as limited as is her naval force, it is considered as sufficient to make it unnecessary to desire the aid of the United States for so specific a service." He gave it as his opinion that the constant attention of an ample naval force would be necessary to permanently suppress the trade, "for the reason that slaves in Cuba do not sell there generally for more than half what they are worth in the United States."² Mr. Forsyth replied to this on July 31, saying that vessels had been ordered by the secretary of the navy to cruise off the mouth of the Sabine, and that a military post would be established on that river.

It does not appear likely that many of these rumored importations ever materialized. I can learn of only three or four that were made during the existence of Texas as a republic—from 1836 to 1845—and the whole number of slaves so introduced was perhaps not more than six or seven hundred, certainly it did not exceed a

¹Crane, *Life and Select Literary Remains of Sam Houston*, 285-86.

²Report of Memucan Hunt to Secretary of State of the Republic of Texas.—Archives of Texas, File 8, No. 726, Diplomatic Correspondence.

thousand. One of these expeditions was conducted by a man named Shepard, of whom nothing else is known. "The people of Texas," says Captain R. M. Potter, U. S. A., a writer well acquainted with early Texas, "though not zealous against the practice, were not in favor of it."¹

Though there is no available documentary evidence that this desultory traffic continued after annexation, many old Texans remember that Africans were frequently sold in the State, even down to the late fifties. The best authenticated—and perhaps the last tradition of importation during this period occurred in 1856. In the spring of that year the United States War Department began some experiments to test the efficiency of camels as pack-animals for posts on the southwestern frontiers, and a small cargo were landed at Indianola, Texas, for service at Camp Verde, about sixty miles northwest of San Antonio. Shortly after this, another ship appeared at Indianola, claiming to have on board a lot of camels for sale to private individuals; but it is asserted that interested parties were aware that the cargo really consisted of Africans. I have talked with men who claim to have seen some of the negroes that were purchased from this vessel. The camel ruse seems to have been pretty well understood in Texas, and the people probably expected similar ventures to follow; for ex-Governor F. R. Lubbock tells us in his "Memoirs" that in 1858 two ships anchored at Galveston under suspicious circumstances, and were at first "thought to be slavers watching for an opportunity of secretly landing their human freight. But they turned out to be laden only with camels; *at least no evidence appeared that they had any African negroes aboard to sell as slaves.*"²

The subject threatened to become a platform issue with the democratic party in 1859, as is evident from a circular published by Hon. John H. Reagan, in April of that year.³ He had learned that an effort was making "to interpolate on our platform of principles declarations in favor of filibustering and the reopening of the slave trade," and that an attempt would be made to defeat him in his candidacy for Congress, on account of his opposition to these two propositions. Defending himself, he said: "In reference to the

¹*Magazine of American History*, VIII 161-62.

²Lubbock, *Six Decades in Texas*, 238. The italics are mine.

³*Texas Republican*, April 22, 1859.

reopening of the African slave trade, it is simply ridiculous to talk of doing it in the Union, unless it be ascertained that Congress has not authority to legislate on the subject." A resolution recommending a thorough canvassing of the constitutional rights of Congress in regard to slavery legislation really was introduced by G. W. Chilton in the democratic convention held at Houston in May, 1859, but it was overwhelmingly voted down. Nevertheless, the opposition throughout the campaign charged the democrats with the intention of reopening the slave trade, and as a result succeeded in electing their entire ticket with Sam Houston at its head as governor. Thus the question rested in Texas, when secession settled it forever.

Some of the Africans who were brought in during the period of the republic are still living—in fact, along the coast from Matagorda to Velasco and along the banks of the Brazos and Colorado rivers they are not at all uncommon.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

In the *July Out West* is the fifth and concluding installment of the translation of Junípero Serra's Diary.

The American Historical Review for July contains *Robert le Bougre and the Beginnings of the Inquisition in Northern France*, II, by Charles H. Haskins; *European Archives*, by George L. Burr; *The Place of Nathaniel Macon in Southern History*, by William E. Dodd; *John Quincy Adams and the Monroe Doctrine*, I, by Worthington C. Ford; and *Ramsay as a Plagiarist*, by Orin Grant Libby. Two sets of documents are printed, namely, *A Letter of Alexander von Humboldt, 1845*, and *English Policy Toward America in 1790-1791*, I, with an introduction by Frederick J. Turner.

The Gulf States Historical Magazine is a new publication which made its first appearance in July, 1902. It is edited by Mr. Thomas M. Owen, of Montgomery, Ala., and is issued bi-monthly. As announced by the editor, its principal object is "the exploitation of the history, literature, and antiquities of the region known geographically as the Gulf States. It will, however, embrace much valuable material bearing upon the history of the adjacent States." Of some interest to Texas students are, "The Beginnings of French Settlement of the Mississippi Valley," by Peter J. Hamilton, and "Texas Newspaper Files in the Library of Congress." Number 1 contains 80 pages, 50 of which are given to the publication of articles and historical documents. The remaining 30 pages are divided among the departments of "Minor Topics," "Notes and Queries," "Historical News," and "Book Notes and Reviews."

The September issue (Vol. VI., No. 5) of *Publications* of the Southern History Association contains one article, entitled "General Sumter and his Neighbors" (to be continued), by Kate Furman. The remainder of the number consists of documents: W. H. C. Whiting's "Dairy of a Texas March," and the "Journal of Charles Porterfield" are concluded; "Early Quaker Records in Vir-

ginia" is continued; and new documents appear under the titles of "Calhoun and Secession," "The Hero of the Alamo," and "Reasons Against the Trial of Jefferson Davis." The first of these new documents is a letter from Calhoun to Judge Collin S. Tarpley, of Mississippi, dated July 9, 1849; under the second title the editor has grouped several letters concerning the expulsion of the Mexican garrison from Anahuac in the summer of 1835 by W. B. Travis; and the third takes the form of a letter from Hon. John H. Reagan to Maj. Geo. W. White, dated November 8, 1865.

Year Book for Texas, 1901. Compiled by C. W. Raines, State Librarian. Austin: Gammel Book Company. 1902. 8vo, pp. 436, illustrated; cloth.

To convey a comprehensive idea of this book would necessitate the reprinting of its index. A sub-title, however, gives a general classification of its subjects into, "Public Officials and Departments under the Republic and State, Institutions, Important Events, Obituaries of Distinguished Dead, Industrial Development, Statistics, Biographical Sketches, and History never before Published." All the matter is arranged alphabetically, so that it is easily accessible, and Judge Raines's name on the title page is sufficient guarantee of the painstaking care with which the data have been prepared. In this connection it should be noted that all of his departmental, institutional, and statistical sketches have been compiled directly from the official records, filed in the various State departments. Succeeding issues of the *Year Book* will not contain so much departmental and institutional history, and it is expected that the space thus gained will be given to the publication of rare documents on Texas history.

NOTES AND FRAGMENTS.

ORDERS FOR GOVERNMENT SUPPLIES.—The following are printed from copies, kindly furnished by Mr. Phil C. Tucker, of Austin, of originals in his possession :

QUARTERMASTER'S OFFICE,
HOUSTON, Dec'r 27, 1838.

To Quartermaster P. Caldwell.

SIR: You will proceed to New Orleans, and purchase the following articles for $\frac{1}{2}$ of the Government of Texas.

You are requested to purchase them of good quality and at the lowest market price in Texas promissory notes.

Forward Invoices with the goods to the Quartermaster General at this place, care of the collector of the District of Galveston, and draw on this department for the amount:

112 saddles, short and suitable for Spanish horses with girths, etc.

112 circingles. Very strong.

112 Bridles double reins—with strong heavy bits.

112 Pr. Spurs, very heavy and strong in the shank.

6 Plain field Bugles.

2 Tons Pig Lead.

50,000 musket flints, best quality.

I have the honor to be

Your obt sert

WM G COOKE,
Q. M. G. T. A.

DEPT OF STATE
WASHINGTON Oct 4th 1843

DEAR SIR: I have time only to remind you of your promise to procure for this Department a copy of Websters Dictionary—and to request that you will not delay ordering it. The work that we want is the abridgment "(large octavo) from the quarto edition of the

author" and contains "a synopsis of words differently pronounced by different Orthoepists."

I have the honor to be

Yr very obt servt

JOHN HALL,
Chief Clerk.

To

Wm Bryan Esq
Galveston

THE FIRST NEWSPAPER IN TEXAS.—Texans who have read Yoakum and Brown have always felt a degree of pride in the statement that, as early as 1819, a newspaper was published and printed at Nacogdoches. These writers have not preserved for us the name nor the exact date of the appearance nor the characteristics of this pioneer in Texas journalism. Yet every one voluntarily accords it a place of honor and doubts not that it was creditable to its publishers and exceedingly interesting to its readers, and he silently regrets that apparently not a single copy escaped destruction. Any authentic information concerning the *Texas Republican* (for that was its name) will, therefore, be welcome news; the more, perhaps, since the latest writer on the subject flatly denies that it ever existed.¹

The *St. Louis Enquirer* of Saturday, September 25, 1819, contains the following notice of the first number of the *Republican*:

"THE TEXAS REPUBLICAN."²

"We received by the last mail a newspaper under the above title, the first Number dated Nacogdoches, August 14th,³ 1819. In the first year of the Republic of Texas.

¹Mr. A. C. Gray (*Comprehensive History of Texas*, II 368, 369, 378, 423), speaking of General Long's printing press, says, "the day of the newspaper in Texas had not then come"; again, that "it was at San Felipe that the first regular newspaper of which there is authentic information had its birth."

²Mr. Horatio Bigelow, a member of the Supreme Council of the Provisional Government, was editor of the *Republican*. See *Comprehensive History of Texas*, I 97.

³Supposing that the paper was a weekly and issued regularly, nine or ten numbers may have appeared. Colonel Perez attacked Johnson at the

"It is principally occupied with the military and political operations going on in that quarter.

"We observe however some advertisements which display a disposition to improve the condition of the country. One which requests the citizens of the town and neighborhood to meet at the house of Mr. Cargill to choose trustees of a seminary of learning; another which shows that a Mr. Madden has engaged in building a grist and saw mill.

"These are strange things to be seen in a Spanish town; a newspaper called Republican; the citizens attending to the establishment of a school; mills building.—We wish they may go on, that the revolution may triumph, and all traces of an odious and contemptible government disappear from our continent."

The *St. Louis Enquirer* for September 29, 1819, quotes the following article from the first number of the *Republican*:

"NACOGDOCHES, August 14.

"An express arrived from Colonel Robinson,¹ who commands the detachment reconnoitering on the Brazos, informing that the party were all well; that two negro men (runaways from the United States) and one white man had gone to Labadie.² The Indian

Falls of the Brazos October 11th, Walker at the La Bahia crossing on the Brazos October 15th, and then advanced on David Long, who occupied a station on the upper Trinity. The news of David Long's defeat caused the abandonment of Nacogdoches. *Ibid.*, I 98.

¹Robinson is not mentioned by Yoakum, Brown, or Thrall. Perhaps it is Capt. Andrew Robinson, member of the Magee-Guiterrez Expedition, referred to by Daniel Shipman in his *Frontier Life*, 21.

²This is the interpretation the Anglo-American ear gave to the Mexican pronunciation of La Bahia, and in this instance refers to the former name of Goliad. Compare also Daniel Shipman's *Frontier Life*, 20, where, speaking of the La Bahia road, after having passed through Nacogdoches and arrived at Robbins's ferry on the Trinity, he says, "Here the road forked—the right hand was known as the old 'San Antonio' road, and the left was called the Labahia (Liberdee) road; * * *." Likewise, La Bahia prairie and La Bahia school and postoffice near the western boundary of Washington county are spoken of as "Labadie" prairie, school, etc., by people who have a more vivid recollection of the pronunciation than of the spelling of the name. The latter, so far as the writer has been able to ascertain, are the only places in Texas that perpetuate this name, which is so intimately connected with the beginnings of the history of our State.

tribes in that quarter are all friendly and warm for our cause. It is expected that the party will intercept some contraband traders from St. Antonio.

"We daily expect to hear from our friends who have gone to Galveston for the purpose of opening a port of entry, and establishing a court of admiralty, at that place.¹ As that is an excellent port, with a good harbor, and lying so near New Orleans, we promise ourselves many facilities in procuring such articles of provision, which we would find difficulty in getting transported any other way. We also hope through this channel to keep up a friendly commercial intercourse with all nations, particularly with the United States; a government to which we are all attached, and have long hoped that we would one day or other be governed by its laws; this hope having from recent evils vanished, we will now try to govern ourselves, and to have laws as nearly assimilated to them as possible.

"By the arrival of five deserters from St. Antonio, we learn that there are not more than two hundred troops in that place, and about eighty in Labadie. These deserters say that if we go in considerable force, the royalists will not fight, but, together with the inhabitants, throw themselves on our protection. Their situation at this time is truly deplorable—a person cannot venture one mile from the city without a strong guard, on account of the hostile conduct of the Indians who are continually hovering around them. We hope soon to protect them from the Indians as well as the royalists.

"We hear of large quantities of wild cattle in the vicinity of Labadie, which will support our army on its march.

"We understand that strong settlements are forming at Picond Point, on Red River. The lands there are of the best quality, and enough of provisions have been made there this year to supply four times the number of inhabitants that now reside there.

"We are authorized to state that an act has passed the Council, giving private soldiers, who serve during the war, 6400 acres of land, which is to be of good quality, and to be laid off in tracts of six hundred and forty acres. A diminution of 1280 in that bounty

¹It is interesting in this connection to note the prominence given to the port of Galveston, as well as the absence of any direct reference to Lafitte, the enlistment of whose services historians hitherto have made the sole object of this visit.

will take place on October next, and continue to decrease that quantity every two months, until it is reduced to 640 acres only. Besides this bounty, a private receives thirteen dollars per month, a corporal 16, and a sergeant 20. Officers will receive pay in proportion to their rank.

"It is expected that the forces will move from this place in a very short time for St. Antonio and Labadie. From intelligence received this day from the latter place, we are informed that there are not more than *forty* men at most, posted there. We firmly believe that by the last of October, there will not be a royal Spaniard on this side of the Rio Grande."

E. W. WINKLER.

QUERIES AND ANSWERS.

PALESTINE, TEXAS, August 11, 1902.

In the July number of *THE QUARTERLY*, page 73, the Hon. George C. Pendleton asks the following questions in relation to Ellis Bean, viz.:

1. "Was he in sympathy with the Texas revolution?"
2. "When did he leave Texas, and under what circumstances?"

I became acquainted with Peter E. Bean, who in Yoakum's History and other publications is called Ellis P. Bean, in the summer of 1839, at his home in what was then Nacogdoches County, but is now Cherokee, near where the town of Alto stands. I knew him well from that time until he left Texas to return to the Mexican Republic.

I make the following statement, which will give the answer to these questions:

He was the military commandant and Indian agent for the Republic of Mexico for the State of Coahuila and Texas, when the revolution which separated Texas from Mexico occurred. He raised a family of three children where he then lived. The year the war of the Revolution broke out he went to General Thomas J. Rusk and received his parole as a Mexican prisoner. He remained at his home in Texas until about 1844 or 1845 (I am not certain as to the date). His oldest two children were then grown, his third a large boy. His only daughter, a very worthy young lady, was married to a respectable citizen. He made his will, disposing of his property to these three children, making Dr. Jesse Bean the executor. He then went to New Orleans and from there via Vera Cruz to where his former wife lived near Jalapa, Mexico. Some trouble arose about his estate, and Dr. Jesse Bean went to Mexico to see him about it, going by way of New Orleans, with passport as a citizen of the United States, and found him with his former wife at Jalapa, living in comfort and ease.

While in Texas, he took out a headright certificate for a league and labor of land which was located in what is now Kaufman county, presumably as a citizen of Texas.

Soon after I became acquainted with Colonel Bean he showed me his autobiography, and we read it together—a fair sized volume in manuscript. He requested me to edit and publish it. This I was in no condition to do. Afterwards he requested me to go to Mexico for him, and take letters to the government officials, complaining of their leaving him in prison so long, and demanding the payment to him of about twenty thousand dollars, which he said was due him from the government for his services, and also to take letters to his wife at Jalapa. This I declined to do.

While I knew him he lived on terms of amity with his neighbors, apparently as much as any other Texan.

I ought probably to mention that, though a native of the United States, he had become an officer of prominence in the Mexican army, and was on duty in Coahuila and Texas when the Revolution broke out. While in Mexico, he married a sister of one of the Mexican generals. She had a fine estate near Jalapa, and it was to her he returned after leaving Texas.

The acceptance of a parole from an officer of Texas, as a Mexican prisoner, and his purpose to require Mexico to pay for his services, indicate that he was not in sympathy with the Texas Revolution. His living in Texas so long during and after the Revolution, in amity with the people, and his obtaining a headright for land as a citizen of Texas, would tend to a different conclusion.

JOHN H. REAGAN,
Palestine, Texas.

AFFAIRS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

The Association has received from Mr. Ingham S. Roberts, of Houston, a copy of the Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Texas for 1900 and four photographs of the masonic monument taken under his supervision in 1898.

Mr. G. Duvernoy, also of Houston, sends two specially interesting and valuable additions to the collection. One is a hand bill containing a proclamation issued by Lieutenant Governor Joel W. Robinson February 12, 1836, explaining to the people of Texas the conduct of the Council in its quarrel with Governor Henry Smith. The other is a rare pamphlet entitled *Apuntes Históricos Interesantes de San Antonio de Bexar*, written by José Antonio Navarro in 1853, and published by certain of his friends in 1869. It deals with some aspects of the Mexican War of Independence, and particularly with the campaign of 1813 in Texas. It contains, also, a few pages of supplementary matter.

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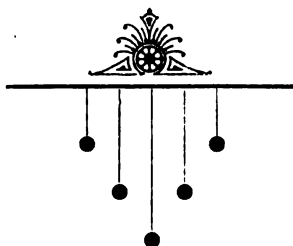
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CONTENTS.

THE TAMPICO EXPEDITION.....	Eugene C. Barker.
TIENDA DE CUERVO'S YNSPECCION OF LAREDO, 1757.....	Herbert Eugene Bolton.
REMINISCENCES OF C. C. COX. II.	
REMINISCENCES OF EARLY TEXANS.....	J. H. Kuykendall.
BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.	
NOTES AND FRAGMENTS.	
AFFAIRS OF THE ASSOCIATION.	

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THE TAMPICO EXPEDITION.

EUGENE C. BARKER.

The Tampico expedition was an episode in the Texas revolution. Its success would almost certainly have changed the course of the war and, perhaps, averted the declaration of independence, but it has received scant attention from the historians, and its relation to the larger movement has never been shown.¹ Its origin and purpose can be better understood after a general survey of Mexican political conditions from 1833 to 1835.

In February, 1833, Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna and Valentin Gomez Farías, representing the liberal and progressive party, were elected, respectively, president and vice-president of Mexico. At the expiration of President Pedraza's term, March 31, 1833, Santa Anna was absent from the capital, and Vice-President Farías took charge of the government. Except for several brief intervals, Santa Anna remained in retirement until April, 1834, while Farías inaugurated a reform policy favored by the moderate branch of his

¹This statement should be understood as applying only to the expedition proper. After his return from Tampico, Mexico tried to get the provisional government of Texas to aid him in fitting out a second expedition. This question became involved in the quarrel which was going on between the governor and the general council, and has been pretty clearly set forth by Mr. W. Roy Smith.—See QUARTERLY, Vol. V, No. 4.

party. But during his year of seclusion Santa Anna changed his opinions and became the leader of reaction. This drew to his support the clergy and the military, and on April 24, 1834, he finally assumed the executive power. A month later he dissolved the national congress and many of the State legislatures, dismissed his ministers, and ruled as dictator. A subservient congress was called in January, 1835, and began working toward the legitimation of the existing despotism. Vice-President Farias was first declared deposed; in March a decree ordered that the militia be reduced to one for every five hundred inhabitants and that the balance be disarmed; in May congress was declared competent to reform the constitution of 1824; and on October 3 a decree declared the establishment of a centralized government. These measures produced great excitement, and federalist insurrections broke out or were threatened in various parts of the country, while Zacatecas and Coahuila and Texas refused entire to accept the new system. But centralism was in the ascendant, and the insurrections were suppressed, Zacatecas was declared in rebellion and subdued with great harshness, and preparation was made for the subjugation of Texas. These successes of the dictator drove many of the liberals into exile, and among those who found a refuge in New Orleans were George Fisher and José Antonio Mexia, who determined to organize and lead from there an expedition in a final effort to restore the federal system.

Fisher reached New Orleans on October 9, 1835,¹ where he found sentiment already high in favor of the opposition which Texas was offering to Santa Anna. The moderate party had the upper hand in Texas at this time, and were determined to uphold the constitution of 1824, so that their cause was identical with that of the Mexican liberals. The leading Texas sympathizers and some of the exiled federalists had already been holding conferences, and when Fisher joined them it was decided to call a public mass meeting and make an appeal for volunteers and contributions in behalf of Texas. A meeting was accordingly held at Banks's Arcade on the evening of October 13. William Christy presided and James Ramage acted as secretary. The chairman explained the object of the meeting and appointed a committee to draft resolutions, and while this was in retirement requested Fisher to describe the politi-

¹Fisher's *Memorials*, 11.—Archives of Texas, C. File 28, No. 16.

cal situation in Mexico and the measures which were being taken to subdue Texas and the federalists elsewhere. After speeches had also been made by Mr. Gustavus Schmidt, a New Orleans lawyer, and A. de O. Santangelo, editor of the *Correo Atlantico*, a liberal Mexican newspaper published in New Orleans, the committee reported seven resolutions which were unanimously adopted.¹ These expressed the warmest sympathy for the Texans and promised every assistance which the neutrality laws of the United States would permit; provided for the appointment of a committee of six—afterwards increased to eight—to correspond with the provisional government of Texas and to receive donations; and authorized the officers of the meeting to open a list immediately for the enrollment of such as would volunteer “for the aid of the Texans, in defense of their rights.” The power of the committee in the disposition of the funds that might be contributed was unrestricted, they were “authorized to receive such donations as may be given for the relief of our brethren in Texas, and to appropriate the same in such manner as, in the opinion of the majority of them, may be deemed most expedient for the interests of the noble cause in which they are engaged.” More than a thousand dollars was subscribed and a number of volunteers were enrolled before the meeting adjourned.²

The committee did quick and effective work. Within a week seven thousand dollars had been raised, and two well equipped companies, aggregating a hundred and fifteen men, had been forwarded to Texas. Also—under the inspiration of Fisher and General Mexia, perhaps—it determined to assist in the equipment of a small force to attack Tampico, in the hope of stirring up in the eastern States an insurrection which would prevent Santa Anna from sending troops to Texas. On October 20, Messrs. Christy and Ramage, acting for the committee, wrote to inform the provisional government of the measures which had been taken for their relief,

¹Extract from *The New Orleans Bee*, October 14, 1835, in Fisher's *Memoirs*, 29-30.

²Extract from *The New Orleans Commercial Bulletin* (no date) in *The Telegraph and Texas Register*, October 31, 1835.

The committee appointed consisted of James H. Caldwell, Wm. Bogart, James P. Nevin, Wm. L. Hodge, and Thomas Banks. William Christy and James Ramage were added by a special resolution, and practically assumed direction of the committee.

and stated that this expedition, numbering "about one hundred and fifty *efficient emigrants*" would sail in a week.¹ At the same time Fisher announced the plan to Austin. An answer from the Texans could not be expected before the expedition sailed, but their approval was assumed, and correctly, as the event showed. For the consultation on November 8, after a consideration of the report from New Orleans, tendered to the people of that city their "most grateful acknowledgements," and assured them that "any who embark in our cause, in the army or navy, shall be liberally rewarded";² while Austin, apropos of Fisher's letter, doubtless, wrote from Bexar on November 5, urging the convention to give the expedition every encouragement. He seemed, however, to favor a descent upon Matamoras rather than Tampico. "Nothing," he declared, "will aid Texas so much as an expedition from N. Orleans against Matamoras under Gen'l Mexia. It is *all* important. I recommend that every possible effort be made to fit out such an expedition, if it has not already been done. . . . If Matamoras is attacked and revolutionized by Mexia, Bexar would fall as a matter of course, for all supplies of funds or Troops would be cut off; there is no way in which funds or men could be employed to so much advantage to Texas. . . . This enterprise merits the full attention of the convention, an express at any expense should be sent to the committee of N. Orleans urging this expedition. . . . Even a rumor of such a thing would keep troops from being sent to Texas."³

In the meantime, Mexia had been delayed in getting off, and on October 29 he wrote to Thomas F. McKinney, of Quintana, and enclosed a full account of his plan with the request that it be placed before "the Gentlemen Directors of public affairs in Texas." He believed that he could best serve the cause which they were all supporting, he explained, by making an attack upon the coast of Mexico; at Tampico he had prepared for the co-operation of the resident liberals, and success was sure "unless some unforeseen cir-

¹*Journal of the Proceedings of the Consultation*, 24; also Fisher's *Memoirs*, 47.

²*Ibid.*, 25. One naturally wonders if this reference to the navy was meant to apply directly to the Tampico expedition. There is no way of determining, but I am of the opinion that it was.

³Austin to Provisional Government, November 5, 1835.—Archives of Texas, File 1, No. 8, Diplomatic Correspondence.

cumstance should intervene;" but in that case he would be notified by his friends upon his arrival, and would then turn his force against Matamoras. Concerning the strength of the liberals in Mexico, he said, "You need not have the least doubt but that in the interior public sentiment is generally in our favor—and that the people are only waiting for an opportunity to throw off the yoke that the servile party have made so heavy on their necks. Daily I am receiving communications from the interior, and lately I have received from the Governor of Tamaulipas an invitation to join in a reaction against tyranny, in such terms that so soon as we shall present ourselves, we shall have a force sufficient for the triumph of liberal principles."¹

The convention, it would seem, agreed with Austin and Mexia as to the desirability of creating such a diversion as this in Mexico. At least, a select committee of six,² reporting on Austin's recommendation on November 13, declare that they regard the subject as "important, and concur with the views of the commanding general, as to its certain effects of crippling the enemy and distracting his movements. Your committee, however, from documents now in their possession, have it in their power to inform this house, that a small force of one hundred and fifty men, commanded by General Mexia, armed and equipped at his own expense, has sailed from New Orleans for the port of Tampico or Matamoras, and that a descent from that quarter, from whatever source, in the opinion of your committee, will produce the consequences of annoying the enemy, . . . and prevent reinforcements being sent to Bexar. Should further operations, hereafter, seem expedient in aiding the enterprise of General Mexia, it enters into the duties of the governor and council of Texas."³

¹Mexia to the Gentlemen Directors of Public Affairs in Texas, October 29, 1835. Translation by L. de Zavala.—Archives of Texas, File 13, No. 1251, Diplomatic Correspondence.

²They were Messrs. Barrett, A. Huston, Martin, Macomb, Williamson, and Zavala.—*Journal of the Proceedings of the Consultation*, 37.

³*Journal of the Proceedings of the Consultation*, 40. The Mexican authorities, too, realized the importance of the expedition. Filisola says (*Memorias para la Historia de la Guerra de Tejas*, II, 189) that the success of Mexia would have made their projected invasion of Texas impossible, and would have rendered temporarily useless the troops collected for the defense of Bexar, Matamoras, and the States of Tamaulipas and Nuevo Leon.

I have presented this correspondence and the attitude of Texas toward the expedition at length, because all of the historians have practically agreed in representing the affair as an enterprise for the personal aggrandizement of General Mexia, and have neglected entirely to show its bearing upon Texas.¹

On November 4, Christy and Ramage wrote to the provisional government and Fisher wrote to Austin again to say that the expedition would leave New Orleans on the 6th in the schooner "Mary Jane."² Two commissioners had previously been sent to Tampico to notify the federalists there and to arrange for the safe landing of the expedition by gaining over the garrison that guarded the bar and the crew of the tug used to tow sailboats into harbor. No difficulty was anticipated in this direction, and, as haste was essential to the success of the enterprise, Mexia did not wait for a report from his commissioners. He arrived off the bar of Tampico November 14, and was considerably disconcerted when the pilot boat came alongside, about four o'clock in the afternoon, to find that the captain knew nothing of his plans. He was fortunate enough, however, to win the captain on the spot, but the failure of the commissioners here caused him to fear that they had been equally unsuccessful in the fort, and he decided to delay his landing until dark, in order to conceal from the soldiers the nature of his cargo. Through this resolution he came to grief. In the darkness, both the tug and the schooner ran aground on the bar, and, after vainly trying to get them off until two o'clock in the morning, the men were ordered to wade ashore. Here they found that the garrison had really been prepared for their coming and were ready to join them, but the loss of time occasioned by their ship-

¹See Kennedy, II 154-55; Yoakum, II 36-7; Thrall, 219, 590; Bancroft, II 189-90; Brown, I 441.

²Archives of Texas, File 3, No. 277, Diplomatic Correspondence; and Vol. 3, p. 47 of records in vault No. 1.

Filisola says (*Memorias*, etc., II 190) that they had three vessels, and Bancroft in his *History of Mexico* (V 146), has followed him. This is a mistake, however, and may perhaps be accounted for by the fact that after the attack upon Tampico had been repulsed, the authorities established a partial embargo and refused several American vessels admission to the port, among them the "Kanawha," which, it was said, had a cargo of provisions for Mexia (See *Niles' Register*, XLIX, 339). In his *North Mexican States and Texas*, Bancroft declares there was only one vessel.

wreck had made it impossible to reach Tampico during that night, so that the day which was to have seen Mexia in possession of the town found him established in the fort, drying his muskets and foraging for fresh ammunition.

All Mexia's ill luck may be traced to a combination of circumstances in Tampico which nobody could have foreseen. His commissioners had succeeded in winning over two officers of the troops stationed there, and they, in turn, began negotiations with the soldiers; but they had only gained part of these when an indiscretion of some of their civilian friends threatened to expose the plot, and forced them to a premature rising on the night of November 13. Unfortunately, a new company of the battalion of Tuxpan had just arrived, and with this and such of the other soldiers as remained faithful the commandant, Gregorio Gomez, was able to put down the riot and arrest the leaders. When news of this disaster reached a party of the liberals who were awaiting Mexia at the bar, they returned to town, in order that his expedition might not be suspected.¹

It was not until five o'clock in the afternoon of November 15 that Mexia—reinforced by thirty-five to fifty Mexicans²—could get his troops in condition to take up the march on the city. Of the attack I shall allow him to tell the story:

"It was between 12 and 1 o'clock in the night when we entered the town. From six in the afternoon Commt. Gomez knew of our landing, and it also appeared he was informed by the English consul of our having taken up our line of march for the city. With this foreknowledge he was prepared with a force of about two hundred and fifty or three hundred men, with whom he fortified the terrace roofs of three houses and erected a battery in the Custom House, the principal point of his defense.

"As my ammunition was short, I ordered on no account should the enemy be fired at, but to approach them as near as possible and then charge with the bayonet as soon after the first discharge of cannon as practicable; by so doing I succeeded in gaining my object, as in two minutes we had dislodged the enemy and taken

¹Filisola, *Memorias*, etc., II 190; Mexia to Governor of Texas, December 7, 1835.—Archives of Texas, File 13, No. 1256, Diplomatic Correspondence.

²Edward, *History of Texas*, 265.

two pieces of cannon, obliging them to shut themselves up in the fortified houses, whence they fired on us. Disorder appearing among a part of our raw recruits, and the absolute want of cartridges to keep up the attack, it being necessary to keep up a strong fire to dispossess the fortified houses, all this united to the weariness of the troops arising from the shipwreck and the fatigues of the march, decided me to retreat after consulting with Capts. Allen and Lambert (the only Capts. who maintained their character as soldiers) whether they thought they could follow up the attack in the present state of the troops. We had 8 killed and as many more wounded, also 20 who had deserted the ranks and who dispersing themselves in the City in the commencement of the attack were taken prisoners.¹ Those who remained in the ranks at the time of the retreat reached their destination."²

At the bar again, Mexia took up his quarters in the fort, and was unmolested for ten days. He had already, during the preceding day's enforced delay, dispatched messengers to his friends in the interior, notifying them of his arrival, and he expected help soon from them. Time passed, however, and no assistance came. He began to fear that his dispatches had miscarried, but had no means of sending duplicates. At the same time conditions rapidly became critical in the fort. There was little ammunition and less food and no money to buy more, while the troops as a result of their hardships were becoming very discontented. Moreover, Gomez was organizing for resistance in Tampico and rousing the people against Mexia by declaring that his followers were Texans and bent upon the overthrow of the nation.³ In the face of all these difficulties, it seemed "most prudent," as Mexia expressed it, "to abandon his position and go to Texas; there to follow up the campaign against the tyranny of the military clergy." Accordingly, he chartered the American schooner "Halcyon" for \$2,000, and with what was left of his force, increased by the company of the Mexican artil-

¹Including some of the wounded, thirty-one were captured. See list of names in Edward's *History of Texas*, 266-7; *Niles' Register*, XLIX 338-9; Dienst Collection, I 3.

²Mexia to Governor of Texas, December 7, 1835.—Archives of Texas, File 13, No. 1256, Diplomatic Correspondence.

³Proclamation of Gregorio Gomez (translation) November 18, 1835.—Archives of Texas, File 13, No. 1254, Diplomatic Correspondence.

lery stationed in the fort, he embarked on November 28 for the mouth of the Brazos, where he arrived on December 3.

Of the thirty-one prisoners left in Tampico, three died of their wounds, and the rest were tried by court martial and shot on December 14, 1835.¹ Every effort was made to save them by the American residents in Tampico, and even by some of the prominent Mexicans. Ransoms were offered for all or a part of them, but to no avail; the authorities wanted to make an example of them to deter similar expeditions in the future. The decision of the court was read to the condemned men on Saturday morning, forty-eight hours before the time set for the execution, and during the interval they prepared a "dying statement" in which they re-asserted their innocence of "either participating or colleaguings with any person or party, having for its object the revolutionizing or disturbing in any manner the tranquility of the government of Mexico." They declared that they had embarked in New Orleans believing that they were to be landed in Texas and with the understanding that it was optional with them whether or not they should volunteer in her defense after they arrived. Many of them simply seized this opportunity to get a free passage to Texas. Six days out from New Orleans, the rumor spread that there was on board with his staff a Mexican general who was going to co-operate with the Texans; but when land was sighted two days later they were told that it was Mexico and that they were to attack Tampico. Some fifty of the men—thirty-five of them Creoles of New Orleans who had presumably known from the beginning the destination of the expedition—volunteered, but the rest held aloof. After the shipwreck, when they had dried their clothes in the fort, they were offered arms and ammunition, "and never having been soldiers before, some probably took them from curiosity, others from necessity, and

¹A writer in *El Correo Atlantico*, of May 9, 1836 (the liberal organ in New Orleans) questioned the legality of this execution, declaring that, if they were considered as soldiers at all, they should have been treated as prisoners of war; and if they were considered as pirates, a military court had no jurisdiction over them. The New Orleans press as a whole seems to have considered the execution justifiable (see editorial from the *New Orleans Bee*, in Edward's *History of Texas*, 260-1); but in support of the *Correo Atlantico's* position it should be noted that France, in 1838, demanded and received an indemnity of 20,000 *piastres* for two of the prisoners who were Frenchmen (see Blanchard and Dauzats' *San Juan de Ulúa*, 241).

others from compulsion;" none of the men were acquainted with each other, and before they could reach an understanding among themselves the officers huddled them together and began the march. "Having no other resource," they conclude, "we were necessarily compelled . . . reluctantly to join the party, with a full determination not to act in concert with it, but submit ourselves as prisoners of war, . . . and without one single exception every individual of the undersigned from motives of conscience and oppression added to the shameful abduction or deception practiced on us, chose to throw ourselves on the clemency and mercy of the authorities."¹

The purpose of this statement is obvious. On Sunday morning, through the kindness of the priest who attended the prisoners, it was transmitted to an American resident and by him translated and submitted, along with a petition for the pardon of the unfortunate men, to the commandant.² Considering the motive of the declaration, therefore, some allowance should be made for exaggeration. Exclusive of the thirteen officers of the general's staff and the fifteen men of the crew, the expedition numbered a hundred and thirty-three men,³ and it is hardly credible that a bare one-fourth of these knew the true destination of the schooner. Almost without any previously concerted plan the hundred hoodwinked and indignant men could have seized the ship and returned to New Orleans, or, at least, could have refused to fight after going ashore. The sort of individual who could be induced to assault a garrisoned town through compulsion or curiosity to handle a gun would not make good military material, and neither Mexia nor the New Orleans committee would have dared to take such desperate chances. Some of them may have been deceived;⁴ but prudence certainly

¹Declaration of the prisoners, in Edward's *History of Texas*, 264-6, and *Niles' Register*, XLIX, 364.

²Letter from Tampico (no name signed), December 15, 1835, in Edward's *History of Texas*, 262; *Niles' Register*, XLIX 339-40; Dienst Collection, I 3.

³Mexia's report to Governor of Texas, December 9, 1835.—Archives of Texas, File 13, No. 1255, Diplomatic Correspondence.

⁴Mexia's report of twenty desertions during the engagement, would, perhaps, point this way; and four private letters written by the condemned prisoners have found their way into print (see Edward's *History of Texas*, 268; *Niles' Register*, XLIX 339, 365; Dienst Collection, I 3), three of

demanded that the number should be few. As to their claim that enlistment was to be optional after they reached Texas, one may very reasonably ask, in view of the situation there, for what other purpose they would have been likely to go at that time.

Immediately upon his arrival at the mouth of the Brazos, General Mexia wrote to ex-Governor Viesca, stating briefly the failure of his attempt on Tampico, and asking that the governor of Texas meet him in Brazoria and confer with him in the arrangement of his future operations. He begged his friend to lose no time in taking the steps necessary to securing his request, "as," he urged, "it is absolutely requisite that I should be informed of what I have to do."¹ Four days later, having learned that Viesca was not acting as governor of Texas, General Mexia wrote a lengthy account of his expedition, from his embarkation in New Orleans to his arrival at Quintana, and forwarded this, with substantially the same requests that he made of Viesca, to Governor Smith.²

In the meantime, matters were occurring in the general council decidedly to the advantage of Mexia. Captain Julian Miracle, just arrived from Mexico, conferred with some of the members of the council on December 5, and reported extensive preparations on the part of the liberals to co-operate with Texas, provided they could be assured that she was not fighting for independence. So

which corroborate their public statement, but this is of no particular significance when we reflect that the Mexicans were expected to read them, too. The writer of the fourth, James Farrell, was twice wounded during the assault, and, obviously, could not have pleaded with any great force a reluctance to the battle, so he contented himself with silence as to details. Bancroft declares (*North Mexican States and Texas*, II 189) that the schooner cleared at the custom house in New Orleans with a cargo of emigrants for Matagorda. This, however, does not, as he thinks, prove that the men were deceived, it was more likely a device for evading interference from the United States authorities. Mexico had lodged complaints at Washington against the assistance which Texas was receiving from the United States, and the government had declared itself unable to interfere so long as the aid was furnished by individuals (see correspondence in *Niles' Register*, L 211-12). And, as has already been seen, the New Orleans committee spoke of all volunteers that it enlisted as emigrants (see letter of October 20, l. c.).

¹Mexia to Viesca, December 3, 1835.—Archives of Texas, File 13, No. 1252, Diplomatic Correspondence. Translation in Fisher's *Memorials*, 48-9.

²Mexia to Governor of Texas, December 7, 1835, l. c.

many conflicting rumors on this subject had reached them that they were uncertain, and it was his mission to ascertain from Governors Viesca and Zavala the real intention of the Texans. Tamaulipas, Nuevo Leon, and Guadalajara were disaffected, he said, and the leading men of the first, especially, had an understanding with General Mexia, and would give the signal for revolt as soon as they learned the attitude of Texas.¹

At just this opportune moment the news reached the council of Mexia's situation at Quintana—doubtless through his letter to Viesca,—and without hesitation, on December 6, they passed a resolution for his relief. The contractor for the volunteer army, William Pettus, was instructed to make, in conjunction with Thomas F. McKinney, such provision for the general and his command as would “enable them to proceed into the interior, etc., with the object of carrying the war into the enemy's country.” And General Mexia was requested to “report his plan of operations through the said contractor in writing to the Provisional Government of Texas.”² At the same time a committee was appointed to frame an address to the Mexican federalists, explaining the purpose of Texas and asking their co-operation. It seems altogether likely that Pettus set out immediately to carry into effect the resolution for Mexia's relief;³ but on December 9 Governor Smith vetoed the bill, with the explanation that he had no confidence in Mexia, and opposed, in fact, the policy of entrusting to Mexicans any matter whatever connected with the government. With better reason, he pointed out that the resolution authorized the equipment of Mexia before the council should be apprised of his plans, and

¹Report of information given by Julian Miracle, December 5, 1835.—Archives of Texas, A, File 2, No. 151. This report is in the handwriting of Austin. It has been published in full in the *QUARTERLY*, V 299-300.

²*Journal of the Proceedings of the General Council*, 112.

³On the 13th “the accommodations furnished Gen. Mexia” were already “considerable,” and he, with his entire force, had accompanied Colonel Pettus as far as Columbia, on the way to lay his plans before the general council. The time for all this would hardly have been sufficient, if Pettus had waited for the final passage of the bill on December 9.—See Pettus to General Council, December 17, 1835.—Archives of Texas, A, File 2, No. 239.

that they had no guarantee from nor control over him; but it was passed over his veto, nevertheless, without alteration.¹

The next morning, however, a report reached the council that the enemy had large reinforcements on the march to Bexar, and another resolution was hastily passed, asking General Mexia to proceed thither and strengthen the Texans who were besieging the place. He was authorized to draw on the government "for any amount of money necessary in forwarding the objects of said resolution," and a copy of the resolution was sent to him by special express,—James Power, a member of the council volunteering for that service.²

Colonel Pettus, in the meantime, after doing what he could to fit out Mexia, had already advised him to repair to Bexar. The easiest route from Quintana was by sea to Copano and thence overland, but the men, while expressing their entire willingness to go, wanted to make the whole trip by land; so Pettus put them aboard the steamboat "Laura," and started up the Brazos, with the intention, perhaps, of going by San Felipe to give Mexia an opportunity of explaining his plans to the general council. Whether Mexia himself expected to go on to Bexar is doubtful. On their arrival at Columbia—probably in the afternoon of the 12th,—Pettus heard that the Texans had begun the storming of Bexar and needed reinforcements. He decided, therefore, to hasten Mexia's force directly to their assistance, but found himself unable to get horses enough for the whole company. His report of what now happened is ambiguous, but it seems that on the 13th most of the Americans, unwilling to wait until transportation could be provided for the whole party, placed themselves under the command of Capt. John M. Allen, and pushed on, while those who were left determined to return to Quintana and proceed by the Copano route. There was no misunderstanding about the separation, and Mexia gave Allen a discharge "of the most flattering kind."³

It must have been about this time that Mr. Power arrived with the council's invitation of the 10th, for late in the night of the

¹*Journal of the Proceedings of the General Council*, 132.

²*Ibid.*, 134.

³Pettus to General Council, December 17, 1835.—Archives of Texas, A. File 2, No. 239. For the dates see Austin to General Council, December 14, 1835, File 1, No. 20, Diplomatic Correspondence.

15th he reported verbally to the council that he had waited on General Mexia and the latter had declined to co-operate with the volunteers at Bexar.¹ This refusal, however, should not be understood to indicate any pique or lack of interest on Mexia's part. Some of his men, as has been seen, were already on their way to Bexar, and the rest were soon to start with his best wishes; but he believed that his personal services could be more profitably employed elsewhere. Just what his plan was has not transpired, but he had already mounted his horse to accompany Colonel Pettus to San Felipe and lay it before the council when Austin, on his way to the United States, rode into Columbia in the afternoon of the 14th, and he turned back to talk matters over with him. Writing of this conversation, Austin said:

"He has shown me his correspondence with persons of the highest standing, especially a letter which he recd. a few days since by a confidential express from the interior.

"I have not time to write fully on this all important subject, nor will my health (exhausted as I am by the ride down) permit it. . . . I will, therefore, at present, merely say that the general good seems to require:

"First, that Genl. Mexia should return with as little delay as possible to N. Orleans, where his presence is necessary for the furtherance of the plans and combinations that are made and maturing in the interior in favor of federalism, and Texas. These plans are very extensive and are calculated to cover and secure Texas effectually, provided we adhere *strictly*, in words, acts, and deeds to the declarations of the constitution of 7th November last.

"2d. That as a part of his troops marched yesterday, Cap. Allen's company, for Bexar, the balance should proceed to Copano by water, for which purpose they have gone to Velasco, and should take the two long brass sixes and two iron ones, and the arms and shot, which will be useful in the siege of Bexar, or in other operations in that quarter.

"3d. That as he spent 18,000 in this expedition and places the cannon (the two brass ones cost \$400 each) and shot, of which there is a good supply, at the disposition of the provisional govt. of Texas, to be used in defence of the common cause, at least one

¹Journal of the Proceedings of the General Council, 166.

thousand dollars should be furnished him to meet his present exigencies, for he is without a dollar.

"He requests me to say that whether he goes to Orleans, or wherever he may be, he wishes to be considered a citizen of Texas. . . .

"I will add I have full confidence in the good faith and sincerity of Genl. Mexia in his efforts and desires to serve the cause of Texas."

Austin promised to write full details of the plan from Velasco; and Mexia, then, giving up his trip to San Felipe, decided to return to Quintana and make arrangement for forwarding his men to Copano.¹

Before leaving Columbia, however, on the 15th, he wrote three letters—to his friend Viesca, to Lieutenant-Governor James W. Robinson, president of the general council, and to Governor Smith. In each he said about the same thing: his sole motive in coming to Texas was to aid the federal cause, and with this object all the men under his command who had not already done so would proceed immediately to Bexar, in accordance with the council's invitation of the 10th. He himself had not as yet decided whether to accompany them or return to New Orleans.² In Robinson's letter he enclosed a proclamation to the Mexican soldiers under Cos, urging them to join the federal party; and he asked that his men be supplied with printed copies of this to carry with them to Bexar.³

¹Austin to General Council, December 14, 1835.—Archives of Texas, File 1, No. 20, Diplomatic Correspondence.

²Mexia to Viesca, December 15, 1835.—Fisher's *Memorials*, 68; to Robinson and Smith respectively—Archives of Texas, File 13, No. 1262 and File 13, No. 1258, Diplomatic Correspondence.

³As a further indication of the sincerity of Mexia's desire to help Texas, this proclamation is worth printing. The picturesque translation in the archives reads:

"General José Antonio Mexia to the besieged forces in Bejar—

"Soldiers y old companion in arms:

"My want of health prevents me personally appearing before you, for the sole object of which i come to texas, where is defended Mexican Liberty, the Federal constitution, the rights of the insulted and injured citizens against servile ambition—

"in defense of these same rights the fourth batalion have accompanied me in our movements on Queretaro Silao and Guanajuato in 1833 and the same a long time in the presidial campaigns of that time in the year 1832—the[y] assisted in the siege of St. Louis, in support of the same

With matters in this condition, Mr. Power, on the 17th, for some unknown reason made to the council a second report of his mission to General Mexia, supplementing his verbal report of two days before. He said: "I have called on General Mexia at Columbia. He has declined to go to Bexar to join with our people. His object is to go to Copano to join with the two hundred Mexicans who are at Palo Blanco; and thence to take Matamoras, if possible. Mr. Fisher, who is acting Secretary to the General, stated to me that the General could not place his military character at stake by accepting a command under the Provisional Government of Texas, as Mr. Viesca is not Governor."¹ Quite naturally the council did not relish this—all the less, perhaps, because they knew that Bexar had capitulated and the need for reinforcements was not now so pressing. They authorized their president, therefore, in secret session, to instruct Thomas F. McKinney to seize all the cannon, arms, and ammunition, which Mexia had brought to Velasco, and to hold them as security for the money and supplies advanced to him by the government. The general was to be treated "kindly and politely," but must receive no further advances from govern-

principles, with an officer who now abandons them y uses them as instruments in supporting the views of the aristocratic party.

"Companions they deceive you, who informed you that the Texians wish a separation from the Mexican federation; therefore do not believe it—What they desire is what i and all federalists desire, that is the constitution of 1824, and that we should not be governed neither by friars or Aristocrats, that the Nation may enjoy Liberty and that the power of a dictator should not impose upon us the yoke of slavery. the resistance that you are making in the besieged City is in every respect criminal, and the only effect it will produce is your ruin and the ruin of the soldiers that I know are the friends of liberty the knowledge of which grieves my heart.

"In the field there are multitudes of Mexican soldiers Chiefs and officers with whom you should unite, do so and you will accord with my views which is to strengthen the lines of the federation.

"José Antonio Mexia

"Brazoria Decr. 15, 1835."

¹*Journal of the Proceedings of the General Council*, 174. Without Fisher's statement, there is nothing particularly objectionable in this, and it is possible that he did not put the matter quite so badly as Power reported. It had always been his opinion that Texas could best concentrate the liberals by placing Viesca in the executive seat, and he perhaps expressed this opinion to Power.

ment stores.¹ A little later, during the evening session, a new face was put on the matter by the receipt of Colonel Pettus's report, and Austin's letter of the 14th, but the express to McKinney and already departed, so they were referred to a select committee and action upon them was deferred for nearly a week. On the 23rd, however, the committee reported, "that on examining all the papers and documents concerning the plans of co-operating with . . . the people of Texas, from General Mexia and others, Mexican Liberals, they would advise that the orders . . . to Thomas F. McKinney, of the seventeenth instant, be countermanded, as your committee can find no reason for declining the aid of General Mexia; . . . and advise that the advances . . . made by the Government agents be respected." This report was adopted and a copy dispatched forthwith to McKinney;² but fortunately Mexia had already relieved him of his unpleasant task by surrendering, the day before the first order arrived, all the property in his possession.³ He had become convinced that his services were no longer either "desired or necessary" in Texas and had decided to return to New Orleans.⁴

¹Robinson to McKinney, December 17, 1835.—Archives of Texas, Vol. 3, pp. 3-4 of records in vault No. 1.

²*Journal of the Proceedings of the General Council*, 195.

³McKinney to Council, December 29, 1835.—Archives of Texas, Vol. 3, pp. 172-3 of records in vault No. 1.

⁴One cannot but respect him for the dignified letter in which he announced his determination to Governor Smith. He said (Archives of Texas, File 13, No. 1263, Diplomatic Correspondence):

"Sir:

"Since my arrival in Texas on the 3d inst. I have communicated to Your Excellency all my movements, the views with which I came, the causes that prompted me to undertake the Expedition against Tampico, and finally that I was returning to this place, with the intention of sending my troops, cannon, arms, and ammunition to the Copano. During all this time I have not received a single official communication, and this circumstance, and the last success of Bexar does convince me that my services are neither of any utility in Texas, nor are they desired or necessary. Thus persuaded I have determined to return to New Orleans, where acting in concert with the Federalists in the Interior I shall be able to employ my time and person in the common cause of the Nation, which I believe is the one which at present Texas sustains. . . .

"I leave here with Thomas F. McKinney Esqr. the cannon, arms, and

Thus ended, in its relation to Texas, the Tampico expedition. Succeeding, it would have concentrated federalist opposition in the eastern States, would have diverted Santa Anna's attention from Texas, and eventually, no doubt, after the capitulation of Cos, would have drawn Texas into active co-operation with the liberals; the dictator might have been overthrown on his own soil, the "republican principles" of the constitution of 1824 preserved, and the Texas declaration of independence obviated thereby. But failing, the press of events and the dissensions in the government prevented the Texans—though its potential advantages were clearly realized—from helping Mexia in a second venture. One cannot but feel that Mexia personally was treated by the Texans with little consideration. Those who knew him best, Austin and McKinney, were confident of his integrity and sincere patriotism; yet the governor ignored, and private citizens insulted him.¹

After Mexia's return to New Orleans the United States grand jury, on May 16, 1836, found an indictment against him for filibustering, but the records do not show that the case ever came to trial. In 1839, still trying to establish republicanism, he was captured by Bustamante and shot. In the same year, George Fisher presented to the fifth congress a memorial, asking that the survivors of the Tampico expedition be placed upon the same footing as regular volunteers in the Texan army and be awarded bounty lands. But the committee to whom the petition was referred reported that while they were well satisfied that his prayer was "not without merit," they thought it would be inexpedient to take further action upon it at that time.

ammunition, which belonged to my Expedition, in order that they may be sent to the Copano, agreeably to the Resolutions of the Honorable the General Council.

"I am Your Excellency's Most Obedient Servant,

"José Antonio Mexia.

"Quintana 23d December 1835.

"To His Excellency the Governor of Texas,

"San Felipe de Austin."

¹McKinney to General Council, December 29, 1835, l. c.

TIENDA DE CUERVO'S *YNSPECCION* OF LAREDO, 1757.

Translation and Notes.

HERBERT EUGENE BOLTON.

In 1746 José de Escandon, an officer of the Querétaro militia, who had already shown great ability by reducing a large portion of the Sierra Gorda region, was commissioned by the viceroy of Mexico to pacify and settle the Gulf coast country. The district put under his control, extending from the Pánuco River to Texas, and "sixty or eighty" leagues west from the coast, was called la Colonia del Nuevo Santander. During the conquest, accomplished in two expeditions, and occupying the years 1748-55, more than twenty towns were established by Spanish and converted Indian families, who joined the expeditions. One of these settlements was Dolores, on the north side of the Rio Grande. Of this place, Laredo, founded ten leagues farther up the river, was an offshoot, as the accompanying documents show. Dolores was subsequently abandoned, and Laredo remained the only permanent Spanish settlement on the north side of the lower Rio Grande.¹

The documents here translated set forth the circumstances of the beginnings of Laredo and show the progress the settlement made during the first two years of its existence. They were copied from the manuscript originals in the Archivo General de Mexico. Volumes 53, 54, 55 and 56 of the History Section of this collection comprise the results of an *Inspección* of the colony of Nuevo Santander, made in 1757, by Captain Tienda de Cuervo, *Jefe Inspector* of the Mexican Gulf, assisted by Agustín Lopez de la Cámara Alta, both acting under commission from the viceroy, the Marques de las Amarillas.²

¹For an account of Escandon's operations, see Bancroft, *Mexico*, III 340-347; Prieto, *Historia, Geografia y Estadística del Estado de Tamaulipas*, chs. XIV, XV, XVI; THE QUARTERLY, VI No. 2, 88-91. Escandon's report to the viceroy is in volume 55 of the Archivo General de Mexico.

²Of these volumes, numbers 55 and 56, entitled (on the backs, in manuscript) *Expedientes relativos á Ynspeccion y Estadística de la Colonia de Santander*, contain the primary results of Tienda de Cuervo's operations,

The material included in these reports relative to Laredo, founded two years before the *Inspección*, is given here in full, except that duplicated evidence is given but once. Cuervo's report, though based upon the depositions following, is given first because it contains the fullest information concerning the steps leading up to the foundation of the town.

In the translation, the manuscript has been followed in the spelling of proper names, and in capitalization, except where proper names were written without capitals. All words enclosed in brackets were supplied by the translator.

1. Cuervo's Report of his *Ynspeccion*.¹

TOWN OF LAREDO.

This little settlement was formed on the 15th of May, 1757.² It was located on the north banks of the large river of this name [Rio Grande del Norte] in a dry, level country. Its temperature is Hot in summer and cold in Winter, and its inhabitants say that it is healthy.

Its foundation sprang from the circumstances that, the present Captain, Dn. Thomas Sanchez, finding himself placed with his Goods and Stock on the other bank³ of the River, opposite the

in the form of *autos*, *diligencias*, *declaraciones*, etc., written on the ground where the examinations were made. Number 54 called (on the title page) *Informe del Reconocimiento e Ynspeccion de la Colonia del Seno Mexicano*, etc., is Tienda de Cuervo's autograph report to the viceroy summarizing the results of his survey, and making recommendations based upon it; while number 53, designated (on the title page) as *Descripcion General de la Nueva Colonia de Santander, y Relaciones Individuales*, etc., is Lopez's description of the colony based upon the documents in volumes 55 and 56, supplemented by his own observations.

¹Archivo General, Sección de Historia, 54, folios 208-213, document number 19. This report to the viceroy is dated October 13, 1757.

²Thrall (*Pictorial History of Texas*, 30), copying a mistake from the *Texas Almanac* (1868- p. 111), says Laredo was founded in 1757.

³Prieto (*Historia, Geografía y Estadística*, 188) says that Sanchez had crossed the Rio Grande and established his *rancherías* where he later founded Laredo.

Hacienda de Dolores, went, in the year [1]754,¹ to see Dn. Joseph de Escandon, whom he found in Revilla,² to Urge that he might be permitted to found a Settlement in this region North of the River, offering to lead out families for that purpose at his own expense, provided that sufficient lands for Stock should be assigned to them—a Proposition that was readily accepted by Dn. Joseph de Escandon. But, as the latter desired to settle el Rio de las Nueces,³ he encouraged the said Dn. Thomas to go and learn about those districts, to see if it was possible to establish a settlement there. With the results he was to go to Dn. Joseph Vasqz. Borrego, whom he would charge with the measures which might be necessary, in order that assistance might be near at hand.

The said Captain Sanchez went, with this object, to see the lands on said Rio de las Nueces. Not finding there any opportunity to settle, he reported what he had seen to Borrego, acquainting him with the reasons why it was impossible to locate families there, and at the same time showed him the case with which he could settle them at ten leagues from Hacienda de Dolores, up the River, and at two [leagues] distance from a passable ford Called Jacinto.

Said Borrego reported all to Dn. Joseph de Escandon,⁴ and the latter, being informed, agreed that Dn. Thomas might settle, where he had proposed, a Town by the name of Laredo; allotted fifteen

¹It is interesting to note how the *rancheros* occupied this district in advance of the government. Sanchez was a proprietor of Coahuila who, in search of grazing lands for his stock, had reached the Rio Grande. Similarly, Dn. José Vasquez Borrego, who in 1750 founded Dolores under the authority of Escandon, had previously pastured his stock and begun a settlement there. Prieto, *Historia*, 175, 187, 188.

²Revilla had been founded in 1750 on the right bank of the Rio Grande some twelve leagues below Dolores. Prieto, *Historia*, 173.

³Escandon had sent Captain Basterra, in 1749, with some families from Nuevo Leon, to found a settlement on the left bank of the Nueces. Finding the designated place unsuitable, they returned south, and after experiencing hardships, founded the villa of Soto la Marina. Prieto, *Historia*, 155, 167, 188.

⁴Prieto (*Historia, Geografia y Estadistica*, 188) makes it appear that Borrego did not, at this juncture, refer the matter to Escandon. He also says (*Ibid.*) that Sanchez threatened to give up the enterprise unless allowed to settle at Laredo, the place he had formerly designated.

leagues of Cattle pasture land for the Inhabitants; and conferred the title of Captain of the town upon the same Dn. Thomas. The latter, to carry out his scheme, took his family, with others, to the proposed place, and there made suitable huts for their dwellings. He has assisted them, now continues assisting them, and still is desirous to take others there.

Those [families] that I found in the *inspeccion* which I made were eleven in all, with four single men, as is shown by Notebook 19 (folios 12 to 13) of the review that I made, in which may be seen, likewise, the goods with which this establishment was begun. As the other facts regarding it appear minutely in the Depositions, I refrain from troubling Your Excellency with the Relation of them, and from setting forth others than those from which, according to the judgement I have formed, I conclude that the advantages and the growth which this Settlement may have must be based upon the breeding of stock, inasmuch as it is a country as well adapted to that purpose as any in the whole Colony; but so far as crops are concerned, I am of the opinion that they promise little benefit. The public advantage in this settlement is its being the usual crossing for the Province of Texas and its Presidios, from Neuvo Rno. de Leon and the province of Coaguila, whose frontiers are seven leagues distant in the place called Carrizo Prieto, this Settlement [Laredo] being the last in the Colony toward the North, situated (as I was able to ascertain) in twenty-six and one-half degrees of Latitude. Its newness does not admit of sufficient knowledge to establish with certainty a notion of the advantages it may afford; but from its having occasioned no expense to the Royal Hacienda and its occasioning none now, it appears to me it will be expedient that it continue until the results which it brings forth and the increase of which it is capable are better known.

The inhabitants settled [there] desire a Priest, which they lack, to aid them, and since their limited means do not suffice for his maintenance, they ask that this Spiritual benefit be supplied them by the King. I present the matter to Your Excellency for the measure to which your piety inclines you. If due consideration of the burden upon the Rl. Hacienda should be considered, I believe a priest might be found who would take charge of the administration of this town and of the Hacienda de Dolores, with the remuneration of the first fruits and obventions which one and another would pay

him, since both are burdened with having to repair to the minister of Revilla for the viaticum, burials, Baptisms, and the annual communion, and with paying for his services with tithes.

The permanent boundary of the Lands of the vicinity will have to be established, and a formal distribution made of them to the settlers;¹ and as they complain that the people of Revilla have been Extending along the other bank of the River, as far as opposite this Settlement, it will also be necessary to arrange those boundaries so as to Avoid all question.

STATISTICS OF THE TOWN OF LAREDO.²

Composition	Number	Payments	Families	Persons	Indians congregados*	Indians agregados	Baptised Indians	Horse Stock	Mules	Yokes	Sheep and Goats	Cattle	Saddle Horses	Asses
Missionary.....														
Captain.....	1		1	20				500	125	2	2000	50	70	30
Residents and Inhabitants.			10	65				212			7080	51	92	1
Total.....			11	85				712	125	2	9080	101	162	31

¹This division was not made till 1767. In that year the commissioners known as *La General Visita* distributed the land, heretofore held in common, and made the official foundation of the town. The report of their acts, called *La General Visita*, is in the Archivo General de Mexico. In the Spanish department of the General Land Office of Texas, at Austin, is an imperfect copy of the same, with a translation. The latter bears the title, *Act of Visit of the Royal Commissioners to the Village of San Augustin of Laredo in 1767*.

²The two tables given in these documents, though essentially the same, in some ways supplement each other.

³I can not, from the sources at hand, give with certainty the meaning of *Indios congregados* and *Indios agregados*, but among the explanations I have found the most plausible is as follows: *Indios congregados* were those belonging to a single family or tribe, grouped together for the purpose of religious instruction, government, or employment. They might or might not be at a mission or a presidio. It sometimes happened that these different congregations, from their number or their distance apart, could not be managed separately, and so they were brought together—aggregated—at a presidio or mission, and were called *Indios agregados*. Señor Dn. Luis González Obregón, of the City of Mexico, inclines to the above view, and has kindly furnished me an extract tending to support it. Usage of these terms seems to have lacked uniformity.

The River of this Settlement abounds in Fish, especially in very large Perch. Its forests lack suitable timber for Building, but it abounds in stone and materials for walls. Its land abounds in game of all kinds, and its climate is hot and dry.

2. *Ynspeccion of the Town of Laredo. (Number 19).*¹

ORDER.²

In the Town of Laredo, on the twenty-second day of the month of July, Seventeen hundred fifty-seven, Sor. Dn. Joseph Tienda de Cuervo, Knight of the order of Santiago, Captain of Dragoons of the new city of Veracruz, and *Jues Inspector* of the Gulf of Mexico, for the most excellent Viceroy, Marques de las Amarillas. Having arrived at this place on the above date at nine in the morning, having learned that its location is across the Rio Grande, on the North side, and that its population is very small, and being desirous to set about the examination and report of its condition, he ordered that its Captain, Dn. Thomas Sanchez, be notified, so that he might summon and prepare the Settlers and inhabitants, in order that, tomorrow, the Twenty-third instant, he may present them for passing review in front of the hut (*Jacal*), in the presence of the said Sor. Tienda de Cuervo, and that in the interim be taken such Depositions as may be considered suitable for arriving at the most Exact Knowledge of its condition, taking that of the said Captain, and those of such other persons as may be expedient for the said inquiry, by means of those questions which apply to the affairs of this little settlement, comfortable with the Articles of instruction, avoiding all its [*sic*] prolixity (considering that this Settlement does not have the same elements as others, whereby it may be examined by the same method), and thus permitting the saving of time and expense which the delay would cause. For the fulfillment of all the foregoing, thus he decreed, ordered, and signed with his assisting witnesses.

JOSEPH TIENDA DE CUERVO.

ROQUE FERNANDEZ MARCIAL.

FRANCO. JOSEPH DE HARO.

¹Archivo General, Historia, 56, document number 10, thirteen folios.

²Ibid., folio 1 and *vuelta*.

PROCEDURE.¹

On the said day, the twenty-second of July, seventeen hundred fifty-seven, Captain Dn. Thomas Sanchez, who is captain of this settlement of Laredo, was notified that he should prepare its inhabitants for tomorrow, the twenty-third instant, at nine o'clock, according to, and in the manner that the foregoing Order commands. And in order to establish the fact it is recorded as a judicial proceeding.

TIENDA DE CUERVO.

ROQUE FERNANDEZ MARCIAL.

FRANCO. JOSEPH DE HARO.

DEPOSITION OF DN. THOMAS SCHEZ [SANCHEZ].²

In the town of Laredo, on the twenty second day of the month of July, seventeen hundred fifty-seven, executing his orders, said Sor. Dn. Thomas Tienda de Cuervo caused to appear before him Dn. Thomas Sanchez, Captain of this Settlement, and its first settler, of whom he took oath before God and on a cross that he would speak the truth with regard to whatever he might be asked.

Having done and promised as he was required, he was asked, how many years ago this settlement was established, with whose permission, of how many inhabitants it was composed at its beginning, and who it was that founded it or promoted its foundation. He said:

That in the year of fifty-five, in the month of May, the Deponent made the first settlement in this place, bringing with him three other families,² who settled at the same time, coming from Dolores

¹Archivo General, Historia, 56, document number 10, folio 1 and *vuelta*.

²*Ibid.*, folios 5-9.

Three depositions were taken at Laredo on the same day. Juan Eusebio Treviño was first sworn, then Thomas Sanchez, captain of the place, followed by Juan Baptista Sanchez. The questions asked of all were identical in substance, and nearly so in form. The answers given by the deponents were also to a large extent the same. Hence to avoid repetition only the testimony of Thomas Sanchez, the founder and chief person of the place, is given here in full. In each case where the other witnesses supplemented or contradicted the captain's testimony, the fact is indicated in the notes.

²Prieto (*Historia, Geografia y Estadística*, 188) carelessly says that the settlement was begun with eleven families, which is the number it had

for this purpose; that Colonel Escandon gave permission to the deponent and the others to come to settle in this place, through Dn. Joseph Borrego, Captain and Owner of the Hacienda de Dolores;¹ that he who founded this settlement was the deponent himself, who bore the expense,² and brought over the first families, as well as those which since have come; and that in all there are ten families and some others, single men; and that up to the present he has aided them and is still aiding them in all that is necessary for their maintenance. And thus he answers.

Being asked if this place was on a highway, or was discovered, or if in it there was any *rancho*, or other beginning of a settlement, he said:

That this place was on a highway and was discovered some nine years before the deponent formed said settlement; that its crossing was discovered by one named Jacinto de Leon;³ whence has clung to it the name of el Paso de Jacinto; that it is up stream from this settlement something like a quarter of a league, and continues passable up to the present; and that there was no *rancho* in this vicinity, nor any thing else. And thus he answers.

Being asked under what circumstances the deponent and the other inhabitants settled in this place, he said:

The circumstances under which this settlement was established was [*sic*] the agreement and Contract which the deponent made with Colonel Escandon in the settlement of Revilla where he com-

in 1757. Treviño (Archivo General, 56, Document number 10, folio 2), in his deposition, says the first settlers were five in number; but Juan Baptista Sanchez says (Ibid., folio 9, *vuelta*) that the captain brought three families.

¹Captain Tienda de Cuervo explains more fully than the witnesses the circumstances leading up to the founding of Laredo. (See *ante*, p. 188.)

²Treviño (Archivo General, Historia, 56, Doc. 10, folio 2) says that Captain Sanchez gave them 'the animals and other supplies needed for their transportation; that the circumstances under which they settled was [*sic*] with the promise that lands sufficient to maintain their herds would be given them; that the said Captain Dn. Thomas Sanchez thus aided them by virtue of the agreement concerning the matter that he had with Colonel Escandon.'

³Treviño says (Historia, 56, Doc. 10, folio 2) 'this place was passed through before its foundation, by the soldiers of the Presidio of la Bahía

municated with him¹ to this effect, in the year fifty-four, and was granted permission to settle in this part of the North. But especially was he [Escandon] desirous of peopling el Rio de las Nueces, whither he [Sanchez] went, and explored it on one side and the other, but was not able to find a suitable place in which to settle. Having returned, he planned to settle in this present location, some time passing before some families came to him and begged him to interest himself in settling them, with which motive he returned to appeal to said Colonel, through said Captain Dn. Joseph Borrego, who facilitated all the steps necessary for this purpose. Thus they came to the knowledge that he would allow them the free use of these lands, with the promise that he would give them in ownership, without indicating the number [of families]. And thus he answers.

Being asked what this place was called, and with what motive it has been given the name of Laredo, which it now bears, he said:

That the name which this place had was el Paso de Jacinto,² and that for naming it Laredo they had no other motive than Colonel Escandon's naming it thus in the deed which he has given to the deponent, the Captain, and in the other letters and orders which he has sent him.³ And thus he answers.

del Espiritu Santo, in which way it was discovered. [It was] not used by any other travelers; the said soldiers, in going through this vicinity, crossed by fording the River at the place called el Paso de Jacinto.'

I am informed by Mr. Bethel Coopwood, of Laredo, that, although there has been some doubt as to the location of these fords, the view is probably correct that Paso de Jacinto was what is now called Paso de los Indios, a landmark at the upper side of the Fort McIntosh reservation; and that Paso de Miguel de la Garza (see page 196, note 3) was in the vicinity of "la Cañada de los Abiones" where the third league of the original tract terminated on the left side of the river. Paso de Miguel de la Garza was named in the Borrego grant of Dolores.

¹That is, Sanchez went to see Escandon.

²Treviño (Historia, 56, Doc. 10, folio 2, *vuelta*) says it was so called 'because of its nearness to the ford which formerly the soldiers of the presidio of Spiritu Sto. used in going to the Province of Coaguila or to Nuevo Rno. de Leon, it being the shortest route.'

³Treviño (Ibid., folio 2, *vuelta*) says that Escandon ordered the captain to so name it, but the other Sanchez (Ibid., folio 10) makes a statement similar to that of the captain.

Being asked what advantages this district offers for the maintenance of this settlement, and if it in any way promotes the frontier Provinces, he said:

That the advantages which this district offers to its inhabitants is [*sic*] the breeding and the keeping of sheep, goats, and cattle—indeed it is extremely well fitted for this purpose because of its good pastures, and they multiply rapidly; that although they have very good lands for cultivation, yet, as they are exposed to weather conditions, and these, in seasons, very contrary, because of the great drouths which are experienced between rains, it happens, that, rain coming early, the crops are put in fine condition, and afterwards the rains are so far apart that all the crops wither and dry up; and that for the frontier Provinces it offers, indeed, a crossing so free, and easy, and useful for its business that there is nothing more to desire.¹ And thus he answers.

Being asked what boundary is designated for them, how many leagues it includes, and what crops they have sown, he said:

That this settlement has no designated boundary, nor is any formality observed in this matter, nor in any other, because up to now Colonel Escandon has not come to it, nor sent any instructions, and thus they are using the land, as far as they can spread themselves out,² under the good faith of the permission which was given them to come here; that, as to crops, up to this years they have not begun to make any; but finding themselves at present with seven or eight *almudes* sown and up³ they appear in such deplorable state,

'Trevisño (Ibid., folio 3) says 'there has been discovered a new ford across this large River, called the San Miguel de la Garza, three leagues down stream from this settlement, so easy that the sheep and goats cross it; by means of which a direct road is open from this settlement to Coahuila and Texas; and over which numerous travelers pass without any difficulty.'

'Trevisño (Historia, 56, Doc. 10, folio 3, *vuelta*) says 'thus they pasture their flocks and herds, each one according to his will, wherever it best suits his convenience.'

'Trevisño (Ibid., folio 3, *vuelta*) says: 'But the Captain has made it [the beginning] with two yokes of oxen, and between him and other inhabitants they have prepared about enough land to sow a *fanega* [about one hundred pounds] of corn; and they have sown perhaps about seven *almudes*.' An *almud*, as a measure of grain, is in some places about one-twelfth, and in others one-half, a *fanega*; as a measure of land it is about half an acre.

through lack of Water, that they do not hope for any harvest. And thus he answers.

Being asked if he believes that this Settlement—as well the inhabitants which it now has, as those by which it might be increased—could subsist and maintain itself solely by the Stock which it raised, he said:

That, if lands should be given them sufficient to extend the breeding of their Stock, he is certain they could maintain themselves, because of the great amount of traffic which they have in them, some selling them here, and others taking them to other parts. And thus he answers.

Being asked who administered the sacraments to these inhabitants, and if they are any Indians *agregados*,¹ or any hopes of being able to get them, he said:

That he who administered the sacraments is the Missionary Father of the Settlement of Revilla, distant from this settlement twenty-two leagues, whom they bring in Emergencies and for the fulfillment of the annual communion. They defray his expenses—indeed, on the last occasion, which was in the past month, they gave him thirty *pesos* in goods produced by the inhabitants—and, besides, they pay him the first fruits. There are not, and have not been, any Indians *agregados*, nor any hopes of having them, because of no provision having been made for that purpose. And thus he answers.

Being asked what nations of Indians are the nearest to this settlement, what might be their number, at what distance they are, and if they cause any trouble, he said:

That the names of the nearest Barbarian Indians are such that they can not be understood;² that they are situated some thirty or

¹See note 3, page 191.

²Treviño (Historia, 56, Doc. 10, folio 3, *vuelta*, and 4) says 'the nearest Barbarian Indians are the Borrados and Bocas Prietas, who are some fifty or sixty leagues distant, and whose number he can not estimate; but the common report is that they are many.' Juan Baptista Sanchez (Ibid., folio 11) says that the 'Indians nearest are Borrados and Carrizos, who are some twenty leagues from this settlement; that he does not know their number, but that the common report is that they are numerous.' All agree in saying that the Indians have caused no trouble.

forty leagues from this settlement; that although some of the Apaches are accustomed to approach this neighborhood, yet they keep the Peace; and that neither from one nor another have they suffered harm since coming here. And thus he answers.

Being asked if any subsidy has been given for the support of these inhabitants, or under pretence of maintaining Indians, he said, That no subsidy has been given here, neither for the inhabitants nor for Indians, because the deponent has relieved the necessities that have occurred with his own means. And thus he answers.

Being asked whether there is any payment made by His Majesty in this settlement, or any other charge on the account of the Royal Hacienda, he said, That there is no payment made here on the account of His Majesty, nor up to now has His Royal Hacienda borne any charge in this settlement. And thus he answers.

Being asked what the river is called which flows by this town, where it rises, where it empties, and if they hope to be able to have an irrigating Canal from it, or if they might have one from any springs, he said:

That the river is called el Grande del Norte; that he does not know where it rises, but that it empties into the Sea; and that he has no hopes that an irrigating Canal can be constructed from it,¹ nor has this settlement springs through which this Benefit can be secured. And thus he answers.

Being asked what crossing the river affords near this settlement where a canoe can be put for the most convenient passage, and if putting one there is thought of, he said:

That in front of this town is a crossing suitable for placing a canoe and for gaining the convenience of a passage; and that the Deponent is intending to place one there at His own cost²; and that meanwhile they cross and ford the river in the place which they call Miguel de la Garza, distant from this settlement three leagues.

¹Treviño (Historia, 56, Doc. 10, folio 4) explains the inability to construct a canal from the river thus: 'because of the depth of its bed it never can rise above the elevation of land where this settlement is situated.'

²Treviño (Ibid., 56, Doc. 10, folio 4, *vuelta*) says 'its not having been put there before now has been because of the scarcity of suitable timbers, it being necessary to bring them a long distance, inasmuch as this vicinity lacks them entirely.'

This ford is convenient, since sheep and goats cross by it. And thus he answers.

Being asked if he knows of any Mines in these parts, he said, That he does not know of any. And thus he answers.

Being asked what are the provinces adjoining this colony, and which of their settlements are the nearest, he said:

That they are [1] Tejas; that of this, the nearest settlement is the Presidio which they call Sta. Dorotea, distant from this colony some fifty leagues, more or less. The Settlement and presidio of Sn. Antonio de Vejar of the same Province, is some fifteen leagues farther; [2] That of the province of Coaguila the presidio named Rio Grande del Norte, with the appellation of San Juan Baptista, is distant from the frontier of this colony some twenty-five leagues; and [3] that of Nueva Rno. de Leon the settlements on the frontier of this colony are la Punta, some thirty leagues from the boundary, and Sabinas, about another thirty, or a little more.¹

And that which he has said he declares to be the truth, by the Oath which he took, and he affirms and ratifies it; and he signed it and said it was the truth that he was forty-eight years old. Said Sor. Tienda de Cuervo signed it with the Assisting witnesses.

JOSEPH TIENDA DE CUERVA.

TOMAS SANCHEZ²

ROQUE FERNANDO MARCIAL.

FRANCO. JOSEPH DE HARO.

REVIEW.³

In the said town of Laredo, on the twenty third day of July, seven-hundred fifty-seven, said Sr. Dn. Joseph Tiendo de Cuervo, pursuing his best information as to the survey and report of this settlement, executed the review of its population as he was ordered, and with that purpose, its inhabitants having presented themselves with their Arms before the *Jacal* where he was staying, he performed this act, examining said Arms, and asking those questions which were considered suitable. All was executed in the following form:

¹It is interesting to note the different estimates of distances. For example, Santa Dorotea is variously stated to be fifty, thirty-two or thirty-four, and seventy leagues from Nuevo Santander. This shows that the settlers knew very little about the country beyond them.

²The other deponents did not sign because they did not know how.

³Historia, 56, No. 10, folios 12-13.

INHABITANTS COMPOSING THIS SETTLEMENT.

Families		Persons	Horse Stock	Mules	Yokes	Sheep and Goats	Cattle
1	Captain Dn. Thomas Sanchez, married to Da. Catherina Uribe, nine children, seventy horses, ten He asses, twenty She asses, All Arms, seven servants—one married and has one daughter.....	20	500	125	2	2000	50
1	Dn. Juan Garcia Salvidar, married to Da. Catharina de las Casas, all Arms, five horses, and two servants.....	4				250	
1	Dn. Prudencio Garcia, married to Da. Josepha Sanchez, five children, all Arms, ten horses.....	7				740	
1	Dn. Joseph Leonardo trevino, married to Da. Anna Moreno, six children, all Arms, twelve horses.....	8	60			700	10
1	Juan fran'co Garcia, married to Maria Ritas, seven children, all Arms, six horses.....	9	25			600	
1	Dn. Juan Baptista Sanchez, married to Da. Juana Diaz, ten children, all Arms, two horses.....	12				500	4
1	Dn. Aug'n Sanchez, married to Da. Fran'ca Rodriguez, two children, all Arms, two horses.....	4				700	
	Leonardo Sanchez, single, all Arms, ten horses, one He ass, one servant.....	2	27			500	
1	Dn. Joseph Flores, married, three children, all Arms, fifteen horses, two He asses.....	5	30			740	1
	Joseph Diaz, single, has with him his Mother, all Arms, six horses.....	2				730	92
1	Joseph Ramon, Absent on leave, married with Da. Maria Gertrudia, two children, all Arms, six horses, two He asses (Footed here and carried over.).....	4	30			200	
9		77	660	125	2	8080	94
	Leonardo Garcia, single, all Arms, four horses.....	1	25			400	
1	Dn. Josph Salinas, married to Ysayvel Trevino, one child, all Arms, two horses.....	3	15			400	3
1	Pedro Salinas, single, has with him his Mother and one Sister, all Arms, eight horses.....	3				200	
	Juan Diego, single, all Arms, four horses.....	1	12				4
11		85	712	125	2	9080	101

ORDER.

As appears from this review, this population is composed of eleven families, comprising eighty-five persons, having in their possession¹ seven hundred twelve Breeding horses, one Hundred

¹To give an idea of the relative unimportance of Laredo in 1757 it need only be cited that Reynosa, founded by Escandon on the south side of the Rio Grande below Laredo, contained 470 inhabitants (Spaniards, Mestizoes, and Indians), 14,000 head of goats and sheep, and 1600 head of cattle. At the same time Camargo, founded also by Escandon, contained 638 inhabitants, 71,770 head of sheep and goats, 2620 cattle, and 1000 horses. Revilla had 357 inhabitants, 45,000 sheep and goats, 4200 horses, 1000 cattle, and 3200 tamed animals. Mier, above Carmago, founded in

Hundred twenty-five Mules, two Yokes, nine thousand eighty Head of sheep and goats, one Hundred one Head of Cattle, fifteen She-asses, sixteen He-asses and one hundred sixty-two Horses for Service.

All the aforesaid being established in this review, the said Sor. Tienda de Cuervo ordered that it be caused to appear in these proceedings, in the terms stated, to show the facts to which they correspond. And he signed it with his assisting witnesses.

JOSEPH TIENDA DE CUERVO.

ROQUE FERNANDEZ MARCIAL.

FRANCO. JOSEPH DE HARO.

ORDER¹

In the said town, on the twenty-third day of the month of July, Seventeen hundred Fifty-seven, Sr. Dn. Joseph Tienda de Cuervo, having seen executed in this settlement the proceedings relative to the examination of its condition, according to his orders, and so far as the smallness of the settlement permits; considering them sufficient for his report; having seen, and informed himself of other matters suitable; being desirous not to delay other things which he ought to do for completion of his commission as quickly as possible; and in order to avoid the expense to the Rl. Hacienda which delay might cause, ordered that everything done in this settlement be put into a separate notebook for its better comprehension.

Thus he decreed, and signed with his Assisting witnesses.

JOSEPH TIENDA DE CUERVO.

ROQUE FERNANDEZ MARCIAL.

FRANCO JOSEPH DE HARO.

PROCEDURE.²

In the said town, on the said day, month, and year, all done in and relating to this settlement was collected and put in this note-

1753, contained 400 inhabitants, 38,659 sheep and goats, 3760 cattle and horses, and 600 tamed beasts. (Prieto, 154-155, 174, 181-187.) These figures are taken from the *Ynspeccion*.

¹Historia, 56, Doc. 10, folio 13, *vuelta*.

²Ibid., folio 13, *vuelta*.

book, according to order; and in order that it may appear it is recorded as a judicial proceeding.

TIENDO DE CUERVA.

ROQUE FERNANDEZ MARCIAL.

FRANCO. JOSEPH DE HARO.

3. *Augustín Lopez de la Cámara Alta's Report on Rancho de Laredo.*¹

.....

It is situated on the margin of the Rio Grande, or Bravo, on the North Bank, in a plain two leagues in extent, reaching to the Hills of Sta. Barbara, which meet it, with two small *Arroyos*, of which the upper, to the southwest, is called Arroyo de Lomas Altos, and that on the east Side, Arroyo de Charcon....

This settlement is important, and it is expedient that it increase in size, for the sake of the Crossing from the interior Provinces of Texas.

The population pays attention to nothing except breeding Stock, which is very profitable to it, and to gathering salt from some salt lakes which are 40 leagues [distant] in the direction of el Rio de las Nuezas, in its lower course.

.....

Roads lead out for the Presidio of Sn. Antonio de Begar, and in the other direction to the Capital of Coaguila, which is Santiago de la Monclova, distant 50 leagues. Rancho de Dolores is distant 10 leagues, Revilla 22 leagues. To el Paso del Nuevo Reyno de Leon, it is about 30 leagues; to the line of division called Carrizo Prieto, where it separates Nuevo Reyno, Coaguila and Colonia, 5 leagues. From this village [Laredo] to the Presidio of Sta. Dorotea. Called by the other name of la Bahia del Espiritu Sto. (which is distant 14 leagues from the sea), it is 60 leagues: to la Vezerra, 5; to el Pato, 5; from here to Salado, 4; to la Caxeta, 4; to Sn. Joseph, 6; to el Mesquite, 6; to el Paso del Rio de las Nuezas, 6—which makes thirty-six leagues from el Rio del Norte to el Rio de las Nuezas—by the road to Agua Dulce, 8; Arroyo de las Mugerres, 8; Santa

¹Historia, 53, folios 163-165. Of what Lopez says about Laredo much is nearly identical with what has gone before. The characteristic feature of his report is the geographical setting of Laredo.

Dorotea, [or] Presidio de la Bahia del Espiritu Sto., 8; which makes the 60 leagues.¹

El Rio de las Nueces, which is distant about 20 leagues at its nearest point, rises in the Province of Coaguila at 100 [leagues] distance from la Colonia, in a Valley which some small mountains, called Nueces, form—whence it takes its name—and flows from the North West to the East. In dry times it becomes small and stands in large pools. It empties into the sea. Between la Bahia del Espiritu Santo and the Rio Grande there extends into the Sea a Headland of Sand, which forms a sort of Harbor, and which they have named San Miguel. But it is of no use by reason of its not having bottom nor being safe, like la Bahia del Espiritu Sto., for both are sandy beaches, extensive and unprotected, presenting no advantages, and very unhealthy. In consequence they can not be populated, as is true of all the country between the Rio Grande and the Nueces, which is wooded, low, with little Water, and that which there is, unhealthy. According to reports of those who have investigated, in some parts of this Country (where I did not go, considering it useless) they have been four days journeying without finding Water, and the horses which have carried them have died.

¹For the location of most of these, see a map in Prieto, opposite page 152. This is a copy of an original map of the route of Encandon.

REMINISCENCES OF C. C. COX.

II.

In the last days of Feby 1856 I left Galveston for West Texas and reached Seguin on the Guadeloupe River March 5th—traveled by rail from Hamburg to Alleyton on the Colorado and from that point to Seguin by stage. It was a wet spring in Texas and the Roads as a consequence were in a frightful condition—Those who have traveled by stage, from San Antonio to Houston in the winter season will understand the discomforts of the ride I had just made—I took quarters at the Magnolia Hotel—and finding the surroundings so agreeable, I made that place my headquarters, while prospecting the Country for a stock ranch.

Here I may as well state, if I have not already done so—that I left Cala with the intention of going into a stock Ranch business in West Texas in Connection with A C Hunter and it was to carry into execution this purpose that I was now seeking a location—Well the first step I took was the purchase of a saddle Horse—a grey poney from the blue grass hills of Ky—owned by John Ireland—Gen. Ireland later on—

Well I rode from the Mountains to the Coast—and from the Colorado River to 20 Miles west of the Nueces River—Sometimes alone but generly with parties who had land to sell—Mr Sol Johnson of Lockhart, a friend and companion on my overland trip to Cala and while in the diggings—took me on an extensive trip on the upper Guadeloupe San Marcos and Blanco Rivers—and Mr Chas Stewart of Seguin accompanied me mostly on my excursions to the south and west—Of course I saw many beautiful and valuable places and great areas of country, that were suitable for the purpose I had in view—and that were offered at reasonable rates, but I had not yet found the tract of land and the conditions that my exacting fancy had pictured until I reached the Nueces River—When on the West bank of said stream about 45 miles above Corpus Christi—I found the place and the only place that answered my expectations—The tract contained $\frac{1}{3}$ of a league, had 2 miles front on the River—about 400 acres valley land and the remainder

prairie, with here and there a few mesquite trees and all covered with mesquite grass[.] I bought this tract for \$2 per acre about double the price of other lands in that section—but the others I did not want at any price and this I could not buy for less—

So having found the Ranch—the next step was to stock it—

I had spent about 6 months in prospecting, had obtained a pretty good knowledge of the country and made many acquaintances—indeed I found friends in all directions—and in a social way I found Seguin very pleasant— At the time I write all that part of West Texas was in the heyday of prosperity—previous to 1856 there had been a series of good seasons—and the immense crops made along the San Marcos Guadeloupe & San Antonio Rivers had attracted a large emmigration to that section—and among them many wealthy and well to do farmers and planters from the various Southern States— These last brought their negroes, mules, carriages, and generally farming implements—forming at the time I first visited Seguin a state of society if not Aristocratic at least highly respectable and refined and cultivated and as pretentious as the most select of older settled countries— Quite a number of these families had come from Kentucky notably—the Georges, Ficklin, Reed Carpenter, Wilcox, Win & others—Some from Virginia and others from Miss. Alabama & S. Carolina— Land was worth all the way from eight to \$20—and as the status of a place and the condition of a people is generally judged by the show they make—to have visited one of the Churches of Seguin on a bright Sunny Sabbath and witnessed the number of fine family Carriages drawn by beautiful match mules or fine blooded Horses and presided over by a darkey in livery—or at least in his best Sunday clothes—which though usually second hand were noticeable as having descended from a gentleman of the house— Times were good money was plentiful and the people were happy— Such was Seguin and its surroundings when I first knew the place—there was great sociability among the people—and entertainments and amusements frequent & enjoyable.

.....

In Oct I purchased 650 head of cattle from Nations & Cavitt, near Gonzales—paid \$6 per head—about the same time bought 3 negroes—then a wagon and an outfit for camping went down and

received the cattle and drove them to the Nueces—arriving at the Ranch about the 1st of Nov 1856—

My immediate neighbors were Belden & Gilpins Ranch about 3 miles down the River and a Mexican family—Patrucio Ramirez, living on the Lagarto creek about a mile above Capt John J Dix on the Ramirena¹ creek about 3 miles away—and J M Grover across the River about the same distance Geo W Wright 6 miles up the river and Don Juan Vela 5 miles up the river— These people are all dead now save one (Capt Dix) but I am indebted to all of them for friendship and help and many acts of kindness—

.....

I want to offer a tribute to the Mexicans— Contrary to the Opinion of the world in general, so far as my Knowledge of their character goes—I think they are a much abused people, and I think my association with them, and my observation and experience in social life and on business relations, enables me to form a very correct estimate of these aztec people—I lived among them, worked with them, employed them, neighbored with them traded with them and visited their houses—and every where and at all times, recd the highest consideration and most disinterested friendship[.] As a rule they are generous faithful to their obligations—industrious as industry goes in this Southern clime—grateful always for favours, & appreciative of confidence in their integrity and naturally gifted in the school of politness—

In drawing this picture I have had in mind my two neighbors—Patricio Ramarez and Juan Arocha—and many, very many remembered names besides that in the years of my Rancho life, were companions in camp life on the prairies—as employers on the Rancho or simply *Besinos*—and for all these I record my good opinion and Kindest regard—

This was before the day of pasture fences—the range was common property—true I had bought a large tract of land, but then I was green from the States—the stock men of the Nueces at that time were a few persons who had come out of the Mexican war pretty full handed and had secured large tracts of land and established Ranches—and a larger number from the Guadeloupe & other Rivers East—who had simply moved further west with their stock

¹Ramireña.

and set down at any convenient and accessible place in other words moved out to grass—but none of these had come previous to my arrival on the ranch. I had employed men to drive the herd out—and we reached the future Rancho Colimal about sundown and turned the cattle loose in the bottom pitched our camp in the Valley close to the River—the spot and so far as I could see all the region round was in Virgin apparel, not a track was to be seen, the grass was luxuriant the trees still covered with their summer foliage—and the long green moss that swayed in the evening breeze—a pretty camp but solemn in its lonesomeness— Supper over we lay down to rest and to sleep—perhaps to dream, for those nightly visitors like good angles often come to chat with the weary thoughts of tired nature, and whisper courage to the desponding soul—but not yet, let us listen to the song of the woods—the birds and the Beasts are giving us a serenade the Owls have geathered from far and near—Hoot Hoot—who are you, they seem to say—the answer comes from a score of coyotes entering upon their nightly carousals—laughing—crying yelping and howling and all so blended and musical, so wierd, wild & exciting that ones nerves seem to tighten up and you listen for the approach of the serranaders.

Such sounds coming in the otherwise stillness of the night—in the wild and unfrequented region I had located in—disturbed the serenity of at least one of the party that night— A young man that I had hired to remain with me a month or two—had quite changed his mind during the night—and when morning came and at the hour between daylight & sunrise there burst upon our ears the sound of many voices in the valley yelling and screaming like so many Indians and the cattle rushing out of the brush and scampering away to the hills—and then the horsemen not fewer than a Jozen of them came charging after the cattle and on past the camp without so much as a morning salutation—or to say if they were Mexicans, Indians or spirits from the infernal regions all came upon us so sudden and unexpected—that my young man said he had seen enough and no inducement that I could offer and no consideration for my situation would prevail upon him to remain—said he had had enough of frontier experience on that that trip to do him the balance of his life—

The visitors of the morning were the vacaroes from the ——¹ of

¹Illegible.

Beldins Ranch and had gone in the valley before day to run out what cattle of the Ranch may have strayed into this Bend of the river—not knowing that I had turned my heard loose in the valley the over night— Of Course I followed after them as soon as I could saddle my horse, and found the cattle rounded up on the hill and the Caporal Juan Arocha apologized for disturbing my cattle—made a proffer of assistance at any time that I needed help and ever after proved himself an obliging neighbor[.]

Now, at last after months of anxious preperation I had entered upon Camp life—I had to build a house and so went into the woods and cut & hewed the timbers for the sills and sleepers and bought lumber in Corpus Christi to put up the house—built it California fashion size 18x22 feet with shed room on one side— I had decided to build on the hill but had not located the spot until the day came to begin work— It was a cold day a stiff norther blowing—and this decided the selection—a small mott of chapparall bushes afforded protection from the wind—and on the lee side of that mott I pitched my tent or logs and blocks, and there erected my castle—which stands to day a monument to my to my labor and dexterity in housebuilding—

My household consisted of the 3 negroes—(a woman & little girl and a boy about 14 years of age) and one hired hand—

Ranch life suited me— I loved the novelty of the business and the excitement of attending it[.] Game was abundant—and I indulged my love of hunting—to the fullest extent— The River and the creeks abounded in fish—and Mustangs and wild cattle were plentiful in the range 20 miles back from the river—wolves, wild cats, Panthers Leopard Cats—and Leopards, were all common to that section for several years after I settled there—but the routine duties of the Ranch enlisted my greatest interest and pleasure.

My cattle ranged from the river back up the Lagarto creek about 5 miles—Dix had a few cattle above me—Beldins cattle ranged below and back to the Aguedulce[.] I managed my stock after the Mexican plan— Once a week or oftener we would make a *Rodeo* or round up of the cattle— The plan is to have one herding ground on the Rancho—the cattle soon learn to run together at that place when they see the Vaceroes on the wing—and when those on the outskirts of the range are started, the movement becomes general,

and [no] prettier or more interesting sight can be imagined than a Rodeo in full progress— every cow catches the alarm and starts off at a brisk trot headed for the herding ground and by no circuitous route, but across hills and valleys—and converging as they proceed to this point of destination. The wildest and strongest always take the lead—but all have the same spirit to get there as soon as possible— the vacaroes follow behind to hurry up the stragglers—and when the round up is made—whatever may have been the purpose of the drive—whether to cut out and deliver Beef cattle, to brand calves—or merely to take out & *Doctor* such as have wounds from the blow flies—the cattle are cut out & taken to the pen and the herd dissolves itself and again scatters over the range—

With horses a different system prevails— Horse stock is kept in *Remudas* that is saddle Horses with one Bell mare—and mares and young stock are Kept [in] *Manadas*—or lots of about 25 mares—with a stallion to each *Manada*— The Horse becomes very much attached to his harum and will allow them to scatter—and when a number of these Menadas are thrown together for any purpose when turned loose it is wonderful to see these Horses seperating and collecting their several households together— they know every animal of their branch as well as the owner and are exceedingly vicious to a reluctant member of the family— These prairie stallions often meet in stubborn conflict and fight for hours for the mastery—

Stock raising in the primitive way is the most exhilarating, independent and profitable employment that a man could engage in— In those days a man well set up in the stock business was a veritable prince of the land— under and [any] and all circumstances the Ranche life is independent and remunerative but the Barbd wire attachment of these modern times has destroyed much of the zest and poetry of the business. . . .

the time went by—the years came and passed—and many incidents happened and changes took place but nothing of special importance changed the current of my life until the year 1860— when I brought to the ranch a wife and this was the beginning of the 2d epoc in my life & and the most important step that I had yet taken[.] Looking back now to the circumstances of the the times—her position at home— . . . raised in society & in ease and affluence—that I should have persuaded her to leave all her pleas-

ant surroundings to share with me the discomforts & privations of my home on the frontier, I am well nigh amazed at the selfishness of the act as well as the faith and love and confidence that overlooked all dangers and discomforts and led her to trust her life & happiness in my keeping.

.....

Ours was a double wedding—Mr.—¹ Herron & Miss McKnight of Seguin—Mr Cox and Miss Fanny George were the contracting parties[.] the ceremony took place at the residence of Maj J W George some miles from Seguin—Rev Mr Herron Presbyterian Minister, officiated—A very large company of friends and acquaintances from the town and country about were in attendance[.] An elegant supper, Music and dancing passed away the evening—and the thing was done— I had joined the ranks of the Benedicts and grew in importance & responsibility from that hour—

After a day or two of preperation and leave taking which included the embracing and good byes and God-bless you Miss Fanny of all the negroes old and young on the place, we started for the Rancho—taking in Galveston on the route—we were of course the guests of Mr & Mrs S at the Island city— they made our sojourn of a few days very pleasant but the day of departure came, and taking the steamer to Indianola reached that town the next day,

Indianola at that day was a very important place and did a large business, being the shipping point for all West Texas—including San Antonio—it was in fact the only sea-port west of Galveston—

After a little delay we secured passage on a sail Boat to Corpus Christi—but just at this point occurred our first accident—and very considerable loss to say nothing of the agony of spirit that a lady must feel at seeing her trunk dropped into the salt water by careless boatmen—but there was no help for it—the trunk was secured and gotten on board—with most of the contents ruined or badly injured—

A lady passenger had joined us for the trip—a Mrs Merriman wife of lawyer Merriman of Corpus Christi—she proved to be an old acquaintance— I had stood grooms-man at her first marriage

¹Illegible. Probably Parmenio.

to a Mr Marr on Galveston Bay, sometime in the 40s[.] Marr died and the widow was now Mrs Merriman—

Well I cant do justice to the voyage from Indianola to Corpus, I think we were 2 days and nights making the trip— Some times there was no wind, sometimes the wind was ahead—sometimes not enough water—and the men would have to get out and push the boat through the mud— the sleeping apartments and the fare were ample for Boatmen but scarcely adapted to a passenger vessel—however we reached home at last—and with comfortable quarters on land and a hearty welcome from my many friends we soon forgot the discomforts of the trip—

I had brought with me from Galveston a new Buggy and also a new Carriage for my neighbor Dobie—my Horses had come down from the Ranch and the next day being somewhere about the 25 of April we reached our home—

I have said something of this home—given its location and somewhat of its appointments—but the introduction of a wife to the actual conditions that confronted her on our arrival were certainly appalling to a bride of only a week and if things had not appeared so ridiculously primitive—barren and uninviting—a scene might have come off at sight of the place but it seemed just as easy to laugh as to cry—and as Mrs——(Maria) was there to receive us and welcome Miss Fannie to the Ranch, and made such splendid apologies for the appearance of the house and the non appearance of everything else in the nature of comforts that nothing occurred to marr the beginning of this home life—

But it was rough—rough in fact, for the material of the house was just as it came from the mill— The furniture was scant— a few hide bottom chairs, a bed stead a trunk and a table perhaps a shelf or two nailed on the wall—but the bedstead was the feature of the room— I say room because besides the one long room there was but little to the house[.] The Bedstead occupied the South corner of the room, stood 4 feet from the floor and was constructed of rough scantling and very strong—with a good moss matrass, and plenty of blankets to dress it— The negro quarter and Kitchen were a little apart from the house and made of Elm logs— we had a good cistern, plenty of milk and Butter chickens & eggs— generally the tables ——¹ turkey and other game at will—so thus cir-

¹Illegible.

cumstanced and with a good Buggy & pair of Horses—as well as saddle Horses and some pleasant neighbors, one found diversion and romance sufficient for each day as it came and went—

Mr Dobie had moved to the neighborehood in 58—his family consisted of wife and 2 children—they were old friends of mine from Galveston Bay—and came to the Nueces through my instrumentality[.]....

Mr Beldin was our next nearest neighbour[.].... Judge Gilpin the partner of Mr Beldin, was also a member of the family—the Judge was a Nova Scotia man— Beldin a New Yorker—both came to Texas at the time of the Mexican war—and made considerable money at Brownsville—but when I first met them were doing business in Corpus Christi— A little further down the River lived the family of Mrs Mann at the Rancho known as Casa Blanca[.] Mr Chas Russell who married a sister of Capt Dix—also lived a few miles away—and Mr Geo Wrights family, above us—and Capt Dix on the Ramirena constituted the society of our little community for a year or two—or until about the time of secession—these people were not of the usual frontier kind—but were cultured and refined, and formed an exceedingly polite and respectable society—

Mr Beldin had a brother in law a Presbyterian minister of the Gospel who was sent from the North to minister to our little neighborhood at an allowance of \$100 per year— Of course we had to suppliment that—and build a church House, which was located on the Casa Blanca creek— Here we assembled twice a month to receive religious instruction and to exchange friendly greetings and discuss the news—and spend a social day—often taking luncheon on the ground [.] But this did not last long—Mr Mitchell though a very good preacher, was too strong a unionist for a Texas congregation when the secession question got in full blast—the old gentleman felt it his duty to rebuke the spirit that was growing rampant among his little flock—and most unwisely prayed for the President of the U S for the perpetuity of the union—and that the misguided people of the south, might be brought to see the error of their way— That prayer dispersed the congregation never to meet again— Well after all the years that have intervned—and looking at the events—and the results—and conditions now—who will say that Father Mitchells prayer was not prophetic—

.....

—and so the time passed along as time usually does—marking off the days and weeks and years, with many incidents, but few important changes—until the year 1861—when the tocsin of war, reverberated throughout the south—and called to arms the patriots of the land— The cause of the south was very dear to the people and great enthusiasm prevailed everywhere—and preparations for the conflict were seen and heard on every hand[.] Alas—how few of the noble spirits of that day had any conception of the magnitude of the task they were undertaking—or realized the responsibility and consequences of the secession movement— I frankly acknowledge my error of judgment[.] I did not entertain a doubt of the success of the southern arms— I thought the war would not last more than six months or a year at most—that the south would certainly achieve her independence, and that every surviving soldier would be crowned with glory and his name go down in history as patriot and hero—and having a family and a name to guard & protect—I felt that if I did not participate in this war of independence that in after years, some sort of reproach would rest upon me and my family because of my recreance to duty at my countrys call— That humiliation and wounded pride would ever cast their grewsome shadows along the pathway of my boy—to cloud his life, his ambition and his prospects in the future—and when peace came and the finger of contempt contumely would be pointed at the descendants of the man whose name was not enscribed on the roll of the Southern Soldiery—

And yet I did not wish to go into the army—or rather I did not wish to leave home—my ranch interests forbid it my wife was bitterly opposed to it—there was no necessity that I should, and though I had always had a sort of admiration for military life, yet I was in no ways beligerent in disposition—and so although my heart was in the cause of the South—my convictions justified the course that had been taken and my confidence in ultimate and complete success and independence for the reasons before stated I had determined to remain at home—and so past the first year....of the war—

History furnishes the details of the wonderful achievements and many bloody engagements—sometimes victorious and sometimes defeated that belonged to that year—and I am only writing of myself and the little part that I had in the great civil war—we of

the Nueces were so far removed from the scene of activities, our numbers so few and our interests and business so urgent and difficult of controul—that but little demonstration of the actualities of the conflict that was going [on] were noticeable in our section—In June 1861 there was a Militia organization and drill on the Aransas—but except that meeting there was but little of the war spirit publically manifested—

Now it is strange what a little thing will sometimes turn the tide in the affairs of men— In April 1862 there came to visit me a former Sacramento friend Mr Dudley Woodward—whose home was Indianola Texas— He was at the time of his visit just from Richmond Va—with a commission in his pocket to raise a company of cavalry for the war[.] He wanted men to join him in raising the co[.] I declined and repelled all his arguments and persuasion—though he remained 3 days at the House—but he circumvented me in the end[.] He begged me to at least go with him to Corpus Christi, introduce him to the boys, and help him in the matter of recruiting for his company—that led me into a trap—we went to Corpus Christi—taking in San Patricio on the way and meeting quite a number of young men on the trip, with all of whom I was well acquainted and to each I introduced my friend Woodward, who by the way was a very fine looking man, with pleasant manners, and persuasive address—and after letting him have his say—I urged his cause, and pictured the brilliant opportunity that was offered them to show their patriotism and love of country and to participate in the glory and honor that was to crown the victorious south— To any such appeal the one reply came—Cox are you going, If you go I will— I was anxious to help Woodward, and it seemed that success hinged upon my joining the Company, I became interested in this recruiting service and determined that it should not fail—and finally yielded to the force of circumstances and told the boys that I was with them—I shudder now at the recollection of the deep grief that I brought upon my poor wife by this inconsiderate step, but the die was cast— I could not be forgetful of the pleadings of home, but I could not be faithless to my promise to friends— But anyway it was pretty smooth sailing after that by the time I got back home the company was a certainty—we fixed a day to rendezvous at a place near Goliad to organize and Woodward returned to Indianola—

Of the men & boys recruited on that trip, I remember John Dee, Geo Maloy, Elisha Daughtery, Cris Sullivan Dave Hunter Lem Wright Tom Allsup Calvin Wright Si Elliff 2 Anth Bros—Joe Wright, H. C. Wright—all these from San Patricio and Banquette and nearly all of them have since passed over the River—Cris Sullivan and Lem Wright were both killed in La—noble boys, noble soldiers—but no laurels they wore nor praises that could be bestowed upon them by their comrades & country, could reconcile the parents of those boys in their great bereavment—The mother of Cris charged me with taking her boy off—and thought I let him be too much exposed at the time he received the fatal shot—Alas poor woman she could not understand that war means danger and death and the bravest spirits are the readiest victims—

However at the appointed time the company went into camp on a little creek near Goliad—Woodward bringing up his recruits from Indianola, Port Lavaca Goliad and all that section of the country and my men from the Nueces & region west—in all about 75 men—all well armed and mounted—in good spirits, and eager for service—we here organized by the election of Woodward Capt., Cox 1st Lieut Earl 2nd Lt and Beverly 3d Lieut—Henry Seeligion Orderly seargent & so on—

Our Company was to form a part of Wallers Battalion—to be organized later on at Hempstead—but now the company was permitted to disperse until the date fixed for starting to Hempstead—and we all returned to our homes—

I pass over the agony of my return, the night was so dark that I seemed lost in a sea of blackness—the thunder rolled, and shook the earth with its frightful discharges of electric light—and the rain fell in torrents—I have always loved home and have always taken more pleasure in returning than in going—but this night my return was a sad one—I had now come face to face with the reality of the step I had taken—the act was cruel. I felt that I had been unkind and sacrificed the peace and perhaps the safety of my family—The storm seemed prophetic of some dire calamity to come from my inconsiderate act and my feelings were as gloomy as the night that encompassed me—But onward was my destiny—I had gone too far to retreat—and that night I felt that I had turned away from my happy home life and joined an *ignus fatuus*—that would lead me to many trials and perils—

My father-in law—Maj J W George was an ardent advocate of the war—being a true southern man, a Kentuckian, and the owner of many slaves, raised in affluence and indoctrinated in southern principles and ideas—and belligerent by nature he could not brook any sort of dictation from the North and when the war came on he was for killing off the d—d Yankees as fast as possible— At the first call for Volunteers, two of his sons enlisted for the war—one in Hoods Brigade and the other in Terrys Regt—the latter Dick George was killed in Ky—the other Moses George survived the war—serving on the staff of Genl Hood—and also on Stephen D Lees staff as Chief Quartermaster[.] But the Major (at home) was like the Roman Mother—who wept that she had not other husbands to give to the cause—there were yet 3 boys at home—and a son in law not far away—he thought we should all be in the army—he wrote me to bring my family to him and join the procession—or if I was afraid of the bullets to come up and take charge of his place & family—and he would shoulder his musket, and battle for the country—

Is it strange that I found courage and confidence in the influences at work on every hand—indeed sometimes when under inspiration of encouraging news or inviting and agreeable associations—I would seem to “smell the battle from afar off”— and feel that my place of duty was to the front—but then again would come the sober second thought—and as I had done from the day of my committal to the service would speculate upon the possibility of something turning up that would release me from my promise, and leave me again the free man that I had been to that hour—and so it is ever between right and wrong—they are two forces pulling in opposite directions, and though the heart be true and the conscience easy, it is a clear head that can always guide one in the proper path of duty—

But all this philosophizing only goes to show that I went into the service in a half hearted way—and my experience as a soldier and observation and association of 3 years with soldiers, convinces me that a married man has no business in the army—his heart is in his home—his love his interest, his cares and his thoughts—day time and night time—on the march, or on guard sleeping or waking—are with the loved ones at home[.] The boy or the single man leaves no such ties behind—his home is with his comrades. his

associations are pleasant and his mind unfettered by cares and anxieties left behind— But on the battle field the distinction ends—the excitement of the conflict, the sound of shot and shell, the smell of powder, the very danger of the situation is so exhilarating that the mind is completely absorbed with the incidents transpiring and every thought and feeling is concentrated upon the momentous work going on—and though the charge be up to the Cannons mouth, the spirit of the man, be he bachelor or benedict leads him to glory or to death—

After this long digression I will get back to my preparation for a start— The ordinary equipage for a soldier is his Knapsack and canteen—and if of the cavalry service his Horse and Saddle but my outfit was much more elaborate[.] The Inventory showed 2 saddle Horses— 2 Ambulance Horses— one ambulance, one negro boy, all manner of camp utensils bedding, Medicines—and my side arms— I paid M Ginns [?] \$150.00 for a war Horse—but before I got off he took the fistula and was unserviceable—bought another of Mr. Dobie for \$100—and another of John Fitch for \$100— One of my work Ponys was a \$100 horse—the first Horse I purchased in Texas—the other not so high priced but a good match for the Ky pony—

Mr. Fitch had been in my employ some time—and I now left him in charge of the Ranch—also left the negro woman and girl on the place—my wife kept the girl Maria with her—I donot remember how we all got away from the Ranch but we got away— Our destination Seguin—and reached there in safety—

I do not remember the month but probably in June 1862, the six companies of Wallers Bat. got together on the Brazos—and under orders to move to La—we took up the march and in due time camped on Vermillion Bayou in that State— The companies were here organized into a Battalion—but with the expectation of having a full Regiment in a short time— Col Waller was chosen Col—Lieut Boone Major—and this same organization existed throughout the war— I had the refusal of the position of Major of the Bat—but declined in favor of Boone for 2 reasons—I didnot care for promotion and again it was Known that on the organization of the Regt Woodward would be Lt Col—and in that case I would succeed to the command of our Company—a position that I much preferred to the other—

....soon after our arrival in La....my negro Boy Wade died from an attack of measles— It grieved me greatly to give him up and have to put him away in strange ground, but death is nearly always cruel and his Visitation unwelcome[.] Wade by the terms of the law was only a chattel—and worth about \$1000 but he was more to me— He had been a faithful servant and was a part of my home life—in his death a link in that life was severed. People of the old regeme will understand this—they understand the relation that existed between Master & servant, the confidence and regard and I might say affection that subsisted between the whites and blacks of the south— Those who have come on since the war will never realize or understand the conditions that prevailed previous to emancipation—but we the survivors of those days, who were often nourished at the black bottle, and fed from the skillet by black mama—will always treasure a grateful feeling for the faithful devotion of our negro servants— As to the result of the war, the freeing of the negroes—I have nothing to say— it may have been right—and for the best— I simply accept the situation but for the new order of negro, the smart sort, and social equality Kind I have no use, liberty should have been given the negro in smaller doses— Suffrage has been an injury to the race[.] They were not fitted for the equal political rights. Education is all right, but the morals of the negro need the most cultivation— For all the old time darkies, and you can tell one at sight by his manners, I have a real regard—

At the time we were sent to La, our command was the only Confederate Regt in the state, west of the Mississippi—but quite a large force of Malitia or state troops were in the field under the command of one Genl Platt— The Federals were in possession of New Orleans—and controlled the Road to Brashier— The Malitia Genl determd to make a raid on that road—developed his plan to Col Waller, and ordered him to move his command by the nearest route to the Missippe River & thence down the River to the Vicinity of Butte Station—a point about 30 miles above N. O. where the Genl had planned to surprise the enemy and capture the Rail Road—the malitia to move by a different rout, of course, to the scene of operation— This looked like active service, and the Bat took up the line of march in good spirits and moved off with alacrity—and though we had an almost impassable swamp to cross we reached

the River in good time and shape and then on down through the cane fields that skirted the River to a plantation about 3 miles above the R R station— Here the command was halted for noon Several little sail Boats, traders along the river and to N. O. came floating down the River—and our bold captain determined to take them in, which we did by firing a few shots and signaling them to come to— After examining the Boats and confiscating such articles as needed they were turned loose to go on their way—which was right down to the Federal lines— Our Col chose to remain at the plantation all day, and also that night— After dark he directed me to take a citizen that had come into camp and an old negro guide that he had picked up and go down and reconnoiter Butte Station—telling me that he had information that 1000 Yankee troops had the place, now as I have said we were not over 3 miles from the station. . . . Well about 10 O. C that night I rode into Butte Station and found it in ruins—the militia had made the attack—captured the town and burned it and torn up much of the track, but the train escaped—and the place was entirely deserted—not so much as a dog or chicken left— only a heap of ashes left— so I returned and reported—

.....

About 3 O C in the morning our pickets reported two steamers coming up the River—directly a third Boat came in sight— No one doubted the purpose of these Boats, by daylight it could be seen that they were loaded with troops—the third vessel was recognized as a Gun Boat— Our entire force was about 240 men—there was but one mode of retreat, that by the road we had come in. . . . One of the steamers landed about a mile above us—the other a mile below[.] Each had a field Battery and two or more companies of infantry— The Gun Boat moved up and took position midway— At this juncture the Col gave the command to forward march—the Bat moved off by twos, the advanced guard about fifty yards in advance—in the mean time the enemy had run down through the cane to intercept us—and before we had marched $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile, bang bang, went the Yankee Enfields—and 2 of our advance guard fell in the road— consternation seized the command—the Col gave the order to countermarch— It must be remembered that our road lay through dense cane fields, the cane as high as a man on horse

back and the road about 10 feet wide— We countermarched on the double quick—Or being cavalry I should say trot— As we were rather conveniently near the gunboat at the first turning road we came to— running at right angles, that is from the River to the swamp—we took it—but now the Gun Boat had us in direct range and the shot and shell flew thick and fast—however the only effect of her fire was to accelerate our movement towards the swamp—reaching a point about 300 yards from the timber—in an open space between the cane and the Swamp the command was dismounted, the 6th man detailed to hold the horses—and the rest formed on foot into line of battle, facing the cane fields, about 40 yds distant—the enemy were completely hid from our view by the cane....and directly the Battery that had been run out from the upper Steamer and the Infantry that had followed down through the cane opened fire on us—the Battery from below had taken position and also begun a fusilade making a cross fire on us and the Gun Boat sent shot and shell faster and faster—and yet the men stood fast until the commander gave orders to break ranks—get to your Horses and fall back to the woods—this caused a regular stampede for the swamp—fortunately the shots were aimed too high—all went over our heads—but the music the shot and bullets made among the trees was scarey—

Acting as Adjutant on this expedition I of course was close to Waller all the time[.] The command went into the swamp promisculy—wholy without order, but somewhat in squads— We rode our Horses as far as they could go—the water was a foot to 18 in deep the ground filled with cypress Knees, and the bottom very soft— about 200 yds in the swamp we abandoned the Horses—they could not go farther in the soft mud— I took one last fond look at my good Horse, saddle & accoutrements and struck out on foot with Waller and about a dozen others into an impenetrable Mississippi swamp—without coursing or compass— The Col had kept the negro guide with him—and now we followed him, but it was the blind leading the blind— I think we must have boxed the compass a dozen times—we could not keep a course but kept going as our strength would permit—the ground was very soft and the water from a foot to 3 feet deep—much of the time one could not travel over a 100 yards without stopping to rest— On these occasions hungry and tired and humiliated as we were the plight we were

in, was so ludicrous that we could but laugh and try to make a joke of our mishap—indeed there was one consoling reflection, we had so far escaped being taken prisoners—and I always felt a much greater dread of a Northern prison than the Yankee bullets—

This battle of Bonie Carrie, that I have been telling about, took place about 8. O. C in the morning—all the balance of that day we meandered around in the swamp—and just at night we came to the edge of the timber very near where we had gone into it—the old negro said it was Genl Dick Taylors plantation—here we found some green corn, and very soon appeased our appetites with roasted roasting ears—

That night we coasted along down the edge of the timber, which was a mile or more from the River and parallel to it and at day light reached the R R at Bute Station—and thence along the track of the R R we kept on to the Malitia camp on Bayou Deselma[.]

The Yankees caught about 15 of our men and one Capt—my old friend Dr January—who stood his ground with sword drawn—swearing that he would not join in such an ignominious flight—The enemy [carried] every horse out of the swamp—took them on the Boats and went back to N. O. with great rejoicing—Our men got together in squads in the swamp and all got out one way [or] another, but mostly by the route we had come into the River—This left our little band of heroic texians in a bad plight—and our humiliation and discomforture in the presence of the Victorious *Kageans* [Acadians]¹ was very mortifying—

and now we are on foot—dismounted, and degraded to the infantry service—and for awhile were hauled about in La cane carts or marched on foot from place to place as the necessities of the service required—Col Waller was very sore over the condition of his command—He told us he would get authority to remount the Bat—and announced his intention to go to Alexandria La to see Genl Dick Taylor—now in command of the Dept West of the Mississippi—and it was determined to send a delegation with the Col—Capt Terrell of Co F. and myself were appointed to go—we were encamped at Tibadaux on Bayou Lafouch—Col Waller had

¹This term is applied to a class of people of French blood in the rural districts of southern Louisiana. Though popularly supposed to be descendants of the people removed from Acadia by the English, many are of West Indian origin.—EDITOR QUARTERLY.

obtained leave to visit Alexandria—the morning he took the stage, Terrell & I joined him.... In due time we reached Head Quarters—and at once obtained an interview with Genl Taylor—Waller made his statement, which was in effect that the men would remount themselves if permitted to do so—and asked for permission to detail an officer from each company to go to Tex—for the Horses— The application was readily granted by the Genl—and we returned forthwith to our camp—and in a few days, I was off for home after horses for my company— a Lieut from each of the other companies came to Tex with me—and after securing the number of horses required—we returned to the command and Wallers Battalion from that time on did active and honorable service to the close of the war—

.....

On my trip to Texas for the horses I took time to visit my family at Seguin—Provisions were plentiful but clothing scarce & high and difficult to be had—all goods impor [ted] into our part of the state came from and through the Ports of Brownsville and Matamoras—and a large traffic was carried on in exchanging cotton for goods— But very many families had manufactures at home— The old fashioned spinning wheel, cards and loom, were brought into use again—and home made clothing was substituted for the fabric of the mills—but I cant dwell on these details—

Our command was remounted and attached to Gen Tom Greens Brigade which turned up in Louisiana about the time, we were again ready for cavalry service— Though belonging to the Brigade we were often detached for special service— The capture of the Gun Boat Diana on the Teche was the first taste of blood, and our first real experience in battle— The Bat was encamped near the Bayou—Capt Joe Sayers with two guns of the Valverde Battery was with us— The boat undertook to pass the camp, and commenced shelling as soon as she got in range our men charged up to the bank, dismounted and rained sharp rifle balls into the vessel—the bayou being narrow—the range was close and our men picked off the Gunners on the Boat—as well as the sailors and soldiers as fast as they would show themselves— and our little battery made frightful havoc with shot and shell— The Boat became disabled and unmanageble very soon in the action, but continued

her course down the bayou as best she could for almost a mile after the engagement commenced—when finding escape impossible and the deadly work of our rifles irresistible—the white flag was thrown out—and the firing ceased— On taking possession we found the deck of the Boat literally covered with the dead and dying—the vessel was riddled with shot & the wounded and dead were scattered all through the ship— The capture of this Gun Boat was considered a remarkable feat for a squad of Tex Cavalry—and this victory restored Wallers Battalion to the favor of the army and the position it held previous to its fatal experience at “Bonnie Carrie”—

Our next fighting was done at Bisland— Genl Dick Taylor with Head Quarters at Alexandria was in command of the trans Mississippi Dept.— It was understood that Genl Banks was planning an expedition to cross at Berwicks Bay. and move up the Teche in the direction of Alexandria and this caused the concentration of the confederate forces there in western La—and consisting mainly of Greens Brigade, between New Iberia & Berwick— Wallers Bat occupied the front—my company, the extreme front—and I with a detail of ten men, the advanced post or picket— In this position we remained two or three weeks— my picket camp was about 2 miles up the bayou from Berwick— 2 men were kept on picket all the time[.] The town of Berwick had many houses but no people— Brashier on the opposite side, being the terminus of the R R from N. O. was quite a business place—

Very little occurred to disturb the monotony of my duties—until Banks forces began to appear on the scene— I had held one or two interviews with the federal officers under flag of truce, relative to the exchange of the prisoners taken on the Diana—and through such negotiation a steamer was permitted to pass up to the town of Franklin to receive those men—

I had to make frequent reports back to my command of the movements of the enemy—and the demonstrations and the rapidity of their movements, in perfect view from my look out (an old frame building in the upper edge of the town of Berwick) enabled me to advise the army of the exact position of the enemy, the time and manner of their crossing the bayou—the kind of troops, Horse, foot and artillery—and nearly the probable number— and yet there was one man, an officer of high rank— who professed to doubt the whole

story—2 days before the Battle of Bisland—Genl Green & one Genl Gray a confederate officer and in some way ranking Genl Green rode into my camp—just after dark and asked me the condition of affairs, below—I told them that the enemy were concentrating in great numbers at Brashier, that steamers were there to transport the troops across to Berwick that the boats were constantly crossing over supplies and munitions of war—and that the whole Yankee outfit would probably be over next day....

The next day the main body of the Banks army crossed over, and late in the evening Maj Boone from our Bat with a few men came down to get a look at the enemy—we rode down to my look out—and forthwith a company of Federal cavalry trotted out to meet us—and chased the party back to my camp—

I cannot remember dates—donot recollect the month or day of the mo— But anyhow the Banks Army said to be 7000 strong took up the line of march from Berwick (and the 2d day attacked our forces at Bisland about 3 O C in the evening— Our men were somewhat protected by an embankment running from the Bayou back through the fields to intersection with an old R R embankment at the woods[.] Wallers Bat was stationed on the extreme right as support to Sayers Battery— my position was isolated, being some 3000 yds to the extreme right, with a few men from my company as picket[.] The Gun Boat we had captured had been refitted and took position in the Bayou on the left—

The advance of the enemy was an imposing sight— they came 3 Regts abreast—and seemed to be a mile deep Banners flying and drums beating, and moving upon us with as little concern as if simply on parade— The enemy opened fire as soon as they got within range—the cannonading & musketry then became general, the roar of the guns, the whizing of the shot and shell and the music made by the columns of infantry on both sides—made the occasion grand and inspiring—Our men held their position behind the embankment, and the engagement continued until quite dark—the enemy drew off for the night. the fight had demonstrated that the small force of Confederates, say 3000 men—could not hold the position against Banks 7000—we had lost the Gun Boat, a number of men killed—and Sayers battery badly crippled—just at that part of the line the enemy had done the most execution[.]

That night our army commenced its retreat. My squad was the

last to leave the Battle ground, because I was not called in until the last of the troops were in motion— The next day the Federals resumed their march— Our Battallion was kept in the rear, that is next the enemy—and company E. the rear co— We had many skirmishes with the advance of the enemy—but were unable to materially hinder their march— Our purpose seemed to be to protect our army on its retreat in the direction of Alexandria— Genl Green remained in the rear for several days, and showed himself to be a very fearless officer—

We were keeping up a sort of running fire for two or 3 days— The Yankees field guns were much heavier than ours—so when our Battery would take position in the road—and send back shot and shell at the advancing foe—they would move up to a suitable position and turn their guns on us—and with the columns of troops steadily marching on our position would become too warm for comfort and we would again fall back—and so on until our commissary and somewhat disgruntled army corp was far enough ahead to be in safety—and then our efforts at impeding the progress of Mr. Banks were relaxed—

This order of march was kept up until Banks changed his course for Port Hudson on the Miss river— Then the Yankees went in front and we followed skirmishing with their rear guard all the way—

At Cheneyville it was my appointment to bring on quite a serious fight— Maj Boone in command of our Bat planned an ambuscade for the cavalry composing the rear guard of the enemy— They were temporarily quartered at a plantation about 2 miles below us. The major told me to take 8 or ten men and go down the road and try to draw them out & if successful to retreat back before them to a point where he would be in ambush with the Bat— Obscured from view by a tall hedge along the road and the dwelling at that place— The plan was a success—

I dont remember all the men that I had with me but Tom Gay, Tom Main, and D. C. Proctor were of the number— After firing at the enemy for some little time I heard the bugle call to Boots & Saddles, and a company of Cavalry—about 75 strong—marched out in our direction and when their purpose became sufficiently manifest—and they had gotten sufficiently near we began to fall back—this encouraged the enemy to make an effort to catch us—

first a trot—then the gallop—and from the gallop into a run—we of course regulated our gait by that of the persuers— They gained on us rapidly firing their carbines and pistols as they came— Proctor was shot in the leg on the run—one man was killed just as we reached the ambuscade—but now consternation siezed Federal troops[.] here came the Bat pel mel right into the road—and with the dust and smoke and yelling and confusion and federals and confederates all mixed up, shooting and slashing with sabers, it looked for a minute like pandimonium reigned in that road— Of course the Yankees wheeled and got out as fast as they could and the most of them got away—but we held about 20 prisoners—and several were killed— And here I may say that I got the credit of lodging a Bullet in one of the troopers in that little fight, at least he said so, but he was not dangerously wounded and recovered in a few weeks—

That was the Cheneyville fight— many other little engagements took place, but I cannot write a detailed history of our operations in La— In fact my memory is too short— I have forgotten very much more than I remember— Banks went on to Port Hudson and 4 days after Vicksburg surrendered—Port Hudson followed suit—

Previous to this Banks expedition western La, save that part between N O and Brashier had remained in the uninterrupted and peaceable possession of the confederates— It was a wealthy country and abounded in every thing that represented plenty and comfort—and the owners of the soil were a cultured and refined people—true most of the men were off in the war, but the old land marks—the Fathers with their wives and children and servants maintained the supremacy of the law and order and system and security pervaded the country—but the passage of that army through the country, left in its wake desolation and ruin— Sugar houses burned fencing destroyed, dwellings, burned, ransacked or rifled— Negroes all turned loose and mostly carried off with the army— Horses—cows & wagons appropriated or destroyed—and mere wantonness evidenced on every hand— like Shermans march to the sea— rapine and license were the order of procedure[.]

After pushing Genl Banks and his grand army corp across the River near Morganza which is a little below the mouth of Red River— our army countermarched and in time again occupied the

Teche country— The federals still being in possession of Brashier city—

And now was planned the most successful coupe that was made in the trans-Miss dept— This was the capture of the Fort at Brashier about 200 men from the Brigade were dispatched at night in small Boats to land and attack the fort in the rear—about daylight[.] The balance of the Brigade under the immediate command of Genl Green marched down to Berwick, which is immediately opposite Brashier and awaited the attack from our men of the Boats— at daylight they had not come, before sunrise the enemy discovered us and a great commotion followed— The blue coats could be seen running in every direction, the fort was maning the guns—two Gun Boats in the River, began to send out volumes of black smoke and as our position was very much exposed—and as we had not intended to fight them at long range and the Genl thinking that the expedition in the Boats had in some manner miscarried he concluded to send them a few shots from our 2 field pieces just by way of a morning salutation— By this time the enemy was ready for business—the fort saluted us first and then the Gun Boats (One of the Boats ran off) the fort being a little above us on the opposite side of the River—the Gun Boat below us, gave them a cross fire at us and the shell and shot came thick and fast—the fact is it was dangerous to be there—a large mound and the houses gave some protection, until the enemy got the exact range and then they dropped their shells right in our midst— Just as our commander was on the point of withdrawing from so unequal an engagement—the welcome yell of the men from the “mu[s]quito fleet” apprised us of their presence, and before the Yankees could turn their Guns on them they were in the fort and the surprise and consternation and panic was so great that resistance was not thought of and about 1500 men laid down their arms and surrendered—we secured a large quantity of military stores, Arms—and plunder of all sorts—and after a few days occupancy of Brashier, again withdrew to the west side of the Atchafalia—

I was not present with the command in all the service in La—and will pass along to the time that our Army was ordered to Texas, to meet a rumored attack of the enemy on Galveston— Genl Magruder was there in command—but after concentrating the troops on the Brazos, it was learned that Banks was moving in the

direction of Red River—and our forces were moved back to Alexandria and shortly after gained a decided victory at Mansfield—and drove the Yankee army out of the Trans Mississippi Dept—or at least that part of it which had been previously held by the Confederates—

While these later events were going on, I was engaged in raising a second company of cavalry for the war—Walter Mann my neighbor on the Nueces, had obtained from Genl Magruder a commission to raise and organize a Battalion for service in the west—say between the Nueces and the Rio Grande. At his solicitation, I undertook to furnish one of the companies— I had some difficulty in getting released from my company in Wallers Bat—and finally succeeded only through the personal friendship of Genl Green and so with this commission I came out home and went to work to raise the company— Nearly all the available men were already in the service but here and there were men holding back through exemptions of one sort and another—some who had been discharged on account of physical disability and young men not yet of conscript age and some over age— I found John S McCampbell a lawyer, then of Goliad but in late years of Corpus Christi, with about 15 men already recruited—and he joined me in the effort to raise the company— He to be 1st Leut, and I Captain—in a few weeks we had enrolled 60 men and reported at Manns Hd Quarters on the Guadeloupe River— the Bat was organized with 6 companies none of them full (80 men rank & file) but furloughed for a brief time to recruit and fill up the companies—

I had raised this company under a promise to every man of service in the west and I felt under obligations to see that the promise was carried out—and so when we were again ready to go into camp, Col Mann had reported to Genl Bankhead on the Colorado—and the destination of the Regt was changed, by order of Magruder from West to East—This greatly demoralized the men—Had they been subject to the conscription laws, it would have been different—but these men were volunteers in a double sense and for a special duty—that of protecting our south western frontier—and the interests of that section of country between the Nueces and Rio Grande—and as a considerable force had to be kept in that service—and my men had been recruited for that purpose— it was considered in violation of their contract to divert the command from its original

purpose— The up shot of the matter was that the company was disbanded, and nearly all the men returned to their homes— and I proceeded to rejoin my old company—

I think now I made a mistake, and should have submitted to orders and thus preserved my company—but at the time I thought my first duty was to the men that I had persuaded into the services and preferred to sacrifice promotion and honors rather than deceive my men—

The Brigade was in Arkansas when I rejoined it and in a few months we were again in Texas—and the next move was to La[.]

I had contracted dysentery, chronic dysentery—and my condition became so critical that on recommendation of the Physicians I obtained leave of absence and came home— on my return to the army news came of Lees surrender and Greens Brigade like all other confederate troops dissolved and dispersed to enter again into the conditions and affairs of private life— And so ended my military life—

I have only skimmed over the 3 years that I was in the Army—and barely indulged in a few leading thoughts and reflections—and mentioned some of the leading events—in which I was directly concerned—and have passed over the thousands of incidents, privations and dangers—as well as the humerous and and pleasurable features of the long campaigns— but have recorded enough to show that I was a participant in the cause which though lost is still dear to the people of the south—

The breaking up of the Army inaugerated a worse condition of affairs in most parts of the country and especially in south west Texas than had existed during the war— 4 years of soldiering greatly demoralized the men—idleness and disipation and card playing had begotten in many a disposition to prey upon the country and thieving and robbery and murder became prevelent in many parts, and it seemed that as the years went by —crime increased until a state of anarchy existed in all S W Texas— and thus with homes despoiled, property lost business stagnated, and poverty at the door, with tyrannical and unjust reconstruction laws, and the infamous carpet bag gang that presided over the affairs of the people, the humiliation of defeat and the arrogance of the victors— From all these conditions and much more an idea may be gleaned

of the actual situation in most parts of the south for some years after the war—

But glorious and grand as is the record of southern valor achieved in that war—more honor is due to the survivors of the conflict for the rapid recuperation of lost fortunes, and the rehabilitation of our beautiful south land—until today it is the most prosperous part of the earth[.] “In many misterious ways God works His wonders to perform”—was the result of the war a demonstration of the will of the Almighty? then Solomon was a little off when he said in a multitude of counsel there is safety— Secession was the act of a united people—the measure was almost unanimous—but there were a few leading spirits that opposed and foretold defeat—but these were like the rivulet to the mighty stream—seen but not felt—and the maddened current swept on to ruin—to ruin—or was it to future greatness and prosperity— If defeat meant the perpetuation of the sisterhood of states, under the constitution of /76 for generations to come, the return of fraternal relations between a divided people and the kindling anew the fires of patriotish and universal love of country, and the eventual building up & establishing the greatest, wealthyst and most powerful nation on the earth—then as many believe the south should have fought for her rights under the flag and not against it— Rivers of blood, mountains of money, and oceans of suffering marked the progress of the conflict and evidenced the intensity of the struggle and made an epoch in our history momentous and peculiar—but enough—“alls well, that ends well[.]”

I must pass now from the life of a soldier to that of a civillian,—take up my ranch life again—and in a brief way present the prominent events about my home— This will take me back to the period when on my last visit to the Ranch before the end of the war—I had taken my wife and children (Sid & Neely) down to the ranch for a few days stay,—and on reaching the home of Mr Dobie, our nearest neighbor, we found Mrs Dobie dying of typhoid fever—my wife remained with her to the end, and thereby contractd the disease, and in a few days was herself taken down, with that dread disease and it was 60 days before I could remove her[.]

during this time—a panic siezed the people, my neighbors, on account of the rumored withdrawal of the confederate troops from Brownsville—and the probable advance of the enemy, who it was

believed had possession of the lower Rio Grande country—and so, many families *skeedadled* over to Beeville and Goliad or to Corpus Christi for safety—but at length my wife was able to stand the trip and we returned to Seguin where she shortly fully recovered[.]

I cannot fix the dates even the years accurately of the events I am writing about—but what I write down are actual happenings—

In June, 1865, the war being over, I returned with my family to the ranch—Jimmy, my 2d son and 3d child, was one month old—the trip was somewhat exciting, we had the Majors Carriage, and two mule wagons, composing our train—were several days on the road and were continually meeting the returning soldiers from the Rio Grande[.] reports came to us of all manner of depredations being committed by these discharged soldiers—all Govt property was seized and appropriated—our wagons & mules were subjected to examination—for stores belonging to the C. S. and our mules for C S Brand—but withal these men treated us with perfect respect—

A very heavy rain came on us about 5 miles from the Nueces River, and by the time we reached the ferry at the Beldin Ranch—the valley of the river was a sheet of water—and the river was near the top of the bank—S. G. Miller was keeping the ferry, and though many wagons were waiting to cross—he kindly & neighborly looked at our situation and put us over first at dark—we had still 3 miles to go—and it kept on raining, the ground became soft and the wagons bogged several times on the way, but about 9 O. C we reached our haven of safety—

And now for the next 2 years our lives ran even and serenely—the seasons were fairly good, the stock prospered, the people got back to their homes—business conditions were generally satisfactory, and so with visiting and receiving visitors fishing and fishing picnics and occasional trips to the old folks at Seguin—the time passed pleasantly—but alas for human hopes and loves and desires—the year 1867 was a memorable one in Texas—especially the coast cities—it was the year of the yellow fever epidemic— On the 15th day of August 15 persons died in Corpus Christi,—in this year and [in this] epidemic, Maj Williams, and Mr McMurphy soninlaw of Genl Sherman, died in Galveston but I come home to name the grief of griefs the death of my dear Fanny— After a lingering second attack of Typhoid fever—she died at 6. O. C P. M.

Aug 15—and was buried on the 16 in the Dobie Grave yard— I don't know whether she should have died or not. In those days the best medical attention was not to be had. Scientific nursing and attention was equally [in]accessable—but our friends of the neighborhood, rendered all possible assistance and were kind and helpful to the last—

.....

I have omitted to mention in the proper place the death of my two sisters Mrs Sherman who died in Houston before the close of the war, it was believed of a broken heart on account of the death of her son Sidney, a Lieut of Artillery, who was killed in the fight at Galveston in Jan 1863 and Mrs Morgan who died some years later in Ky of consumption[.]

In 1869 the Kansas Cattle trade developed into a great traffic— It was estimated that 600 000 head were driven to Kansas that year[.] It took about 3 months to make the drive[.] The cattle fattened on the road—and found ready sale on arrival in Kansas— Abilene on the Somky [Smoky] hill river was the cattle emporium at that time— Abilene is on the Kansas Pacific R. R. about 200 miles west of K. C— I took up a drove that year—

The George family all located in Kansas city that fall— my children were with the old people and I left them there that winter and came home to prepare for another drive the next year—that was 1870— I assisted the George Bros in getting up several thousand Beeves—received and paid out about 60 thousand dollars for them— I hired Mr. R Curtis to take up my heard and met the cattle in Kansas about Aug[.] Genl Sherman and daughter Mrs Carrie Williams accompanied me to Ky— But at Louisville Ky I was switched off at Cincinnati and thence to Washington city by telegrams from Maj George & one Slaven of K. C. to perfect a contract they had secured from the U S Govt to supply beef [to] the Indians on the Platt— Making the bid and getting the contract in my name[.]

Leaving Washington I returned to Ky—and after a short visit continued my journey to K C[.] Spent a short time with the Children and then proceeded out to Abilene— my cattle had arrived and were soon disposed of and the hands sent home— Paid Curtis

\$500 for bossing the trip— I cant remember the expense a/c of these drives—but they were heavy—

.....

On leaving K C in the fall I took the children with me

.....

In 1872 I sent up a herd in charge of Jno S Crump and Will Holton—intending to follow on in the summer so as to meet the cattle on their arrival at Abilene—but a severe wound I recd in my leg from an axe laid me up for a month or two and had to Abandon the trip—

.....

Sid & Neely were now large enough for school—Mr Dobie had 3 children Dolly Sterling and Minnie of school age—and we employed Mr. ——¹ at \$30 per month to teach them—the school was at my house and lasted about 3 months—

Another great die up of the cattle occurred that winter—but as hides were worth about 18c per pound and cattle about \$4—the traffic in hides became a big business—and people of all grades and calling, scanned the range for the dead and dying animals[.]

About September of that year I moved over to my new place the Valley Ranch—and about the same time Mr Railey and family occupied the old ranch my former home— The nuclus of the Village of Lagarto had formed one mile from Valley Ranch—J W Ramsay, Sam Beall, Sam Cook, T P McNeill C C Lewis and some others were settled there—Sam Beall had started a store, I bought him out at the price of \$1000 cash—paid him fifty \$20 gold pieces—and thereupon engaged in the mercantile business— Money was plenty times were good—the country was prosperous— Lagarto continued to fill up and improve[.] My business grew to about \$40,000 per year[.] I still had a good stock of Horses—about 200 head of cattle—several thousand dollars in money and goods—my home of about 300 acres which with improvements cost not less than \$6,000—and with friends & encouragement on every hand, with perfect health—and my children with me—the days and months rolled by with little to marr or interrupt our pleasant life—

In 1874 I again visited my old home in Ky— Father and mother

¹The name is torn out.

still living, and Brother dispensing hospitality at the old stand—
and on Oct 5th I had the honor and happiness to receive the
 hand and heart of Miss Nellye Stedman—daughter of Maj E H
 Stedman of Stedmanville Ky—

.....

Lagarto at this time had grown to be quite a village[.] there
 were 3 stores 2 Hotels Blksmith shop & some other business houses
 —and the population was not less than 150 souls—the country
 around about was pretty well settled up with well to do Ranchmen
 —all of which made Lagarto a very business like place and the
 people being friendly and sociable and many of them cultivated
 and refined our social surroundings were agreeable and afforded
 entertainment in many ways—

My business was running the store, raising Horses and cattle, and
 farming on a small scale— Mr Church was chief clerk in the store
 for about 2 years at the salary of \$100 per month[.] Louis Cox
 another nephew and Knox Barfield also served as clerks for a year
 or two—in 1875 my brother L J Cox came out and spent a part
 of the winter with us—brought out several head of Durham calves
 which he had purchased for me in Ky—

.....

In the fall of 1875 our family was increased by the arrival of
 Maj Stedman & my nephew Jake Cox, then about 14 years of age—
 Mrs Stedman had died at her home in Ky. from the effect of a
 fall—....

In the spring of 1876 my brother made us another visit—this
 time bringing with him, several head of improved Ky cattle and
 fifty head of Cotswold sheep— about half the cattle died— the
 remainder sold for fair prices and the sheep were disposed of at
 \$20 to \$50— The following year that is 1877, Harman Stedman
 & family moved from Ky to Lagarto—

I had a lumber yard in connection with the store—and had
 bought and built several Houses in the town—and had erected a
 Grist and saw mill, but made the mistake of getting a small power
 engine—and in consequence the Mill had not the capacity to make
 it a profitable investment—but the Major being an old Miller ran
 the concern to some advantage[.] After Mr H Stedman came out
 he took charge of the Mill & ran it while I owned it—

The Maj made his home with us and devoted his time to Gardening, horticulture and Bee raising and made each a success, this was at Valley Ranch—later on he purchased and improved Sunny side the present home of Mr. H. Stedman—and where he domiciled until March 1885, the month and year of his death—

.....

In 1878 I sold out the store to H B Newbury but kept the Lumber yard and the Post office until about 1881 or 1882[.] In which year I think it was I sold the Valley Ranch to Dr A. G. Henry and moved to a rented house in Lagarto[.]

.....

In 1883 we moved to the Caswel[?] Ranch on the Nueces River—owned by S G Miller—there we remained about 2 years and in Aug 1885 packed our trunks and embarked for Missouri where we expected to secure a pleasant and permanent home—but....the failure to realize our expectations forced us back to Texas....

On my return to Live Oak County in Aug 1886 my friends encouraged me to offer for County Judge and at the election that fall I was elected to the office—and have held this office continuously for six successive terms—

REMINISCENCES OF EARLY TEXANS.

A COLLECTION FROM THE AUSTIN PAPERS.

J. H. KUYKENDALL.

I.

[In 1857 J. H. Kuykendall wrote for Judge Bell, of Columbia, a series of papers, consisting of his recollections of various persons and episodes of early Texas. He himself had played an active part in the life of Austin's colony both before and during the revolution, and was, therefore, well qualified for his task. From Judge Bell, the papers passed into the hands of Hon. Guy M. Bryan and were deposited by him among the Austin Papers, where they now are. Kuykendall's letter of transmittal to Judge Bell, written on the fly leaf of the book containing the reminiscences, explains his method of presentation:

"Judge Bell,

"Columbia, Texas.

"Dear Sir,

"In the following "Recollections" you will doubtless find some chaff; but some appeared to me necessary as a vehicle for the grain. I would like to add another paper or two (which are nearly ready) hereto, but fearing you may be impatient to receive something from me, I omit them until my next. In a couple of months (making seven months instead of twelve) I will have done all I expect to do in this business. Indeed, by that time, but little *new material* of much interest, in regard to colonial times, will be left to collect. Please acknowledge the receipt hereof. My Post Office is "Round Top, Fayette Co., Tex.

"Truly yours,

"J. H. K.

"Aug. 26th, 1857."]]

1. *Recollections of Capt. Horatio Chriesman.*

(Born in Virginia, Aug. 13, 1797.)

Captain Horatio Chriesman left the State of Missouri for Texas in the spring of 1822. At New Orleans he embarked on the *Schr. Only Son* which landed him and many other immigrants at the mouth of the Colorado river on the fourth day of June 1822. As several cases of sickness occurred amongst the immigrants soon after their debarkation, all the families retired, as soon [as] practicable, further inland, leaving most of their effects at the land-

ing in charge of four men. Captain Chriesman, his father-in-law William Kincheloe, and a few others with their families, camped at a little creek about ten miles north of the landing. A few other families, constituting what was called "Wilson's party" also proceeded about ten miles from the landing and camped on a branch of the Trespalacios—westward from Kincheloe's party.

The remainder of the immigrants went to Jennings's camp, farther up the Colorado.— After the lapse of a few days, the provisions at Kincheloe's camp being nearly exhausted, Mr. Pruitt was about to start to the landing for a new supply, when a runner from Wilson's camp came to inform them that the four men left at the landing had been murdered by the Carancawas and all the property of the immigrants carried away or destroyed. Immediately after the receipt of this news, Kincheloe's partly left their camp and proceeded up the Colorado—the men packing all the effects of themselves and families except the guns, which were carried by the women. All these immigrants settled at different points on the Colorado. They suffered greatly for want of provisions.

Having lost his wife, Captain Chriesman determined to take his little son to Missouri and place him in the care of his mother. Having purchased a pony, he started on his journey the 23d day of February 1823. Two days afterwards he arrived at the cabin of Martin Varner at Hickory Point, near the present town of Independence. Here he was taken sick and was unable to travel for five or six weeks, by which time he had declined going to Missouri, and undertook, in conjunction with Samuel Kennedy, to cultivate Mr. Varner's small farm. Chriesman and Kennedy were to work the crop and Varner was to furnish the provisions, *id est*,—lean venison.¹ Sometime during the summer Varner's horses were stolen by a party of Mexicans. Varner and Kennedy pursued and were absent several days, during which time Varner's family had nothing to sustain life withal but a little milk (Varner had but two cows). "We had" says Capt. Chriesman ["about eight acres of corn which if not worked immediately was certain to be lost. I could not stop the plough to hunt. I took no sustenance save a few stinted drinks of buttermilk until after I finished ploughing

¹The deer were so poor that some of the settlers preferred the meat of the wild horse; but Capt. C. had a prejudice against equine flesh and never ate any.

over the eight acres. My plough animal was an old, slow, blind mule."

A few weeks afterwards Capt. Chriesman was at the house of a neighbor²—Mr Byrd—who resided about five miles below the present town of Washington, and whilst there Mrs. Byrd (now Mrs. Gray) informed him that Mr. James Whiteside—whose residence was on the Navasota, on the east side of the Brazos—had gone to the United States on business, and that his family consisting of his wife and two little boys, had little or nothing to eat but lettuce. Mrs. Byrd expressed much sympathy for Mrs. Whiteside but said she was unable to relieve her, her own family being nearly destitute of provisions. Chriesman went home and told Varner of Mrs. Whiteside's condition. Varner, who was an excellent hunter and a kind hearted man, instantly shouldered his rifle and went into the woods. In a short time he returned with a very large buck, which Capt. C. threw on his horse and carried to Mrs Whiteside—a distance of twenty miles. "Aunt Betsey," says Capt Chriesman, "never forgot this favor."

During this summer Capt. C. was without a shirt, and wore a buckskin hunting shirt instead.— Towards autumn he learned that Col. Groce had some goods. He therefore visited the Col. to replenish his wardrobe. He bought a few yards of coarse, brown Hollands—"Of this linen" says the captain "Mrs. Byrd made me two shirts, the best I ever wore, as they lasted nearly three years." In the fall of 1823 Col. Austin wrote to Chriesman from the Colorado to employ him as a surveyor. He accepted the appointment and followed the business for several years. About the same time Seth Ingram and Selkirk were also appointed surveyors. The first survey made by Capt Chriesman in the Colony was a league of land¹ for Josiah H. Bell on the west side of the Brazos a few miles below the Labahia road. This work was done on the tenth day of October 1823. Ingram's first survey was made for Sylvanus Castleman on the west side of the Colorado above LaGrange. After making a few more surveys above and below the Labahia road, Capt. Chriesman went lower down the Brazos to work.

In the summer of 1824 Capt Chriesman commanded a company under Austin in his expedition to Goliad in quest of the Caranca-

¹This "neighbor" resided twelve miles from Mr. Varner.

²Title for this league was issued to William Gates.

was. Early in the ensuing autumn he went on another fruitless trip in quest of these Indians. As he was returning homeward he learned at Mr. Kincheloe's on the Colorado, that a company had started from that neighborhood the day previous to chastise the Indians who had seized White's boat at the mouth of the Colorado.¹ Chriesman and his companion—Andrew Castleman—at once determined, if possible, to overtake the company in time to be in the fight. This they barely effected. Capt. Chriesman's account of this fight differs in one particular from that contained in the sketch of Capt. Ingram. Capt. Chriesman asserts confidently that there were but nine Indians in the canoe—seven of whom were killed in the river and two reached the opposite shore—one of whom was mortally wounded. He does not remember who commanded the whites— In fact, he as well as Capt. Ingram doubts whether there *was* any recognized commander. (Yoacum gives the command to Capt. Jesse Burnham.)

Late in the autumn of this year Capt. Chriesman while surveying on the east side of the Bernard (a little north of West from McNeil's), had an adventure with the Carancawas. He was meandering the the Bernard (which at at that point is two hundred yards wide), and had two chain-carriers with him. His three remaining hands were in a canoe proceeding down the river with the arms, provisions and camp equipage of the party. Chriesman and the chain-carriers heard dogs barking below them—which led them to suspect that there were Indians about, and they had not proceeded far when they discovered four or five large canoes—all crowded with Indians—moving slowly up the stream. Leaving the chain stretched on the ground, Chriesman and his hands ran up the river and intercepted their canoe. As three of the party were unarmed Capt C. deemed it prudent to discontinue surveying until the Indians should be driven away. He accordingly left his canoe in the river and proceeded with his party to the residence of Mr. Josiah H. Bell near the present town of Columbia. When he arrived at Mr. Bell's he found there Col. Austin, James Jones, and four or five other men—all of whom had just arrived from San Felipe and the Fort (Fort Bend) and who immediately volunteered to return with Captain Chriesman and assist him to search for the

¹See sketch of Capt. John Ingram. [This sketch will be reproduced in a later installment of the reminiscences. —EDITOR QUARTERLY.]

Indians. The party now numbered from twelve to fifteen men. When they arrived at the point where Capt. Chriesman had left his canoe, Col. Austin with five or six men embarked on a boat belonging to Mr. Bell (taken thither for the purpose) and rowed slowly down the stream to look for the Indians. Two or three of the men remained at the camp on the bank of the Bernard and two or three accompanied Captain Chriesman down the river to recover his chain which was found without trouble and the party had commenced their return to camp when they heard, a few hundred yards above them, the reports of several guns in rapid succession. They quickened their pace, apprehending that the men at the camp were engaged with the Indians.

They had proceeded but a short distance when they discovered two or three squaws running from the direction of the river. One of the party fired at them before he was aware of their sex. One of the squaws was so frightened that she could scarcely run, and Captain Chriesman determined to make her a prisoner. Just as he reached forth his hand to seize her she fell down and Captain Chriesman left her alone—for he discovered a male Indian in a thicket with his bow raised to shoot him. The Indian disappeared in the thicket before the Capt. could draw a bead on him—but Sterling McNeil fired at him—probably without effect.

When Chriesman and his party arrived at the camp they ascertained that the firing had been below and had doubtless proceeded from Austin's party—which soon afterwards returned and related that they were moving silently down the stream close to the left shore when they suddenly found themselves within a few yards of a large camp of Carancawas, upon which they instantly fired. The Indians were completely surprised and fled into the bottom without returning the fire. The blood on their trail indicated that several of them had been wounded. All their canoes (four or five) were captured. The company remained the ensuing night on the bank of the Bernard. The Indians, who had been dispersed in every direction, were howling through the bottom until a late hour. They all got together and left the Bernard before day. Next morning every man in the company was gratified to find that a small child which the Indians had run off and left at their camp when fired on by Austin's party, had, during the night been recovered and carried away.

Captain Chriesman while surveying never met with these Indians but one other time. This happened on Oyster creek. He had run a line through a canebrake to the bank of the creek and was establishing the corner when two Carancawas made their appearance on the opposite side of the stream. As Capt. C. and his chain-carriers were unarmed they thanked their stars that the broad bayou lay between them and the anthropophagi.

Captain Chriesman commanded a company in the campaign against the Wacoos and Tawacanies conducted by Capt. A. C. Buckner in May and June 1826.¹ The other captains of companies were Ross Alley, William Hall and Bartlett Sims. Near the close of the same year he commanded a company in the expedition against the Fredonians, who dispersed before the forces from the colony reached the Trinity and the colonial militia were permitted to return home. In the year 1832 Capt. C. moved his residence to the capital of the colony (San Felipe) having been elected Constitutional Alcalde for that year.

2. *Recollections of Joel W. Robinson.*²

I was born in Washington county, Georgia, in the year 1815. My father, Judge John G. Robinson immigrated to Texas with his family in the year 1831. He at first settled within the present limits of Brazoria county, where he resided a few months. Both my father and myself were engaged in the attack on the Mexican Fort at Velasco in June 1832. Not long afterwards we removed to Mill Creek within the present bounds of Austin county and subsequently to Cummins's creek, a few miles east of the Colorado. I had, from boyhood, a strong predilection for adventure which my father afforded me every facility in his power to gratify, and for three or four years, much, perhaps most, of my time was devoted to the defense of our frontiers against the Indians and Mexicans. I will briefly allude to the principal conflicts in which I was engaged. I was a member of a company of about thirty men, which in May 1835 went to attack the Keechi village on Boggy

¹See *Recollections of Capt. G. Kuykendall*. [These will be printed in a later installment.—EDITOR QUARTERLY.]

²This name should be Robison. Mr. Neal Robison, tax collector of Fayette county, son of Joel W. Robison, says that the family have always so spelled it.—EDITOR QUARTERLY.

creek—a tributary to the Trinity river. When we got near the village some of the Indians met us in a friendly manner. We charged them with stealing horses from the whites which accusation they denied and to prove that they were at a good understanding with the settlers in Robinson's [Robertson's] colony they exhibited a treaty with them signed by the Empresario, Sterling C. Robertson. We were about to depart without molesting them when some of our men in looking about the village, saw, and recognized several horses which had been stolen from the settlements on the Colorado. Finding they were detected the Keechies seized their arms. We fired on them and they took refuge in a thicket contiguous to the village. We knew not what loss the Indians sustained. None of our men were injured. We immediately collected about thirty head of horses and started homeward. As we expected the Indians would pursue us and make an effort to recover their horses, a strong guard was placed around our camp the ensuing night. At a late hour one of our sentinels fired off his gun and ran into the camp crying "Indians!" The night was unusually dark, and the men, suddenly roused from sleep mistook one another for the enemy. Some clubbed their rifles and knocked down their messmates. Several shots were also fired and one man (Benjamin Castleman) was killed and another wounded before the mistake was discovered. I think it probable that the sentinel really saw Indians, but they did not molest us. We returned home without further mishap.¹ Both Major Oldham and Capt. John York claimed the command of this company and were constantly quarreling about it, but neither of them was ever fully recognized as such by the men.

Difficulties with the Mexicans commenced about the close of this summer (1835) and I was among the very first who repaired to the field of strife. This was about the last of August or first of September, and I did not return home until after the surrender of Bexar to our arms in December of that same year. I was engaged in the sharp conflict at the Mission of Concepcion, 28th Oct. I

¹In a later paper of the same collection is found the following note: "In the recollections of Joel W. Robinson, in the account of the attack on the Keechi tribe in 1835, it should have been stated that two of the Indians were killed—after which their village was burned. Papers were found in the village which were known to have been on the person of a young man named Edwards who was killed by Indians 20 miles below Bastrop, a few months previously."

was also in what is known as the "grass-fight" and fully participated in the storming of the town of San Antonio de Bexar. After my return home I had but a few weeks respite from the toils of war. The wave of Mexican invasion was rolling towards our frontier. The time had arrived that *really* "tried men's souls." Our next campaign opened the first of March 1836. During this campaign I was a private in Capt. Heard's company of the first Regiment, (Burleson's), and fought in the battle of San Jacinto. As a true account of the capture of Santa Anna has probably never been published I will here relate the particulars.

I was one of a detachment of thirty or forty men commanded by Col. Burleson, which left the encampment of the Texas Army at sunrise of the morning after the battle, to pursue the fugitive enemy. Most of us were mounted on horses captured from the Mexicans. We picked up two or three cringing wretches before we reached Vince's Bayou (8 or 9 miles from our camp). Col. Burleson gave them a few lines in pencil stating that they had been made prisoners by him, and sent them back to our camp without a guard.¹ When we got within about two miles of Vince's bayou we discovered, some distance to our left, five or six mounted men coming from towards the head of the bayou. Supposing them to be Mexicans we rode towards them, and they fled. We pursued and chased them to Vince's bayou, below the road, where they dismounted and went into a thicket. When we got to their horses we found that they were caparisoned in American, or rather, Texian, style, and some of the horses were American. Inferring from these circumstances that the riders were our countrymen we called to them and they quickly came out of the thicket. It proved to be Doctor Phelps and others on their way to our army. They had mistaken us for Mexicans, as we had mistaken them. Phelps and his little party proceeded on towards our army. Col. Burleson with the greater part of the detachment went up Vince's bayou—but six of us, to wit, Sylvester, Miles, Vermillion, Thompson, another man whose name I have forgotten, and myself, proceeded a short distance farther down the Bayou, but not finding any Mexicans we turned our course towards our camp. About two miles east of Vince's Bayou, the road leading from the bridge to the battle-

¹This was obviously to afford them protection from straggling Texans.—
EDITOR QUARTERLY.

ground, crossed a ravine a short distance below its source. This ravine extends to Buffalo Bayou. Along its course, between the road and Buffalo bayou are or *were*, several small groves or mots with considerable space of prairie between them. As we approached this ravine we discovered a man standing in the prairie near one of the groves. When we got near him he sat down on a small bundle, but ere we quite reached him he rose up and stood again. He was dressed in citizens clothing, to wit, blue cottonade, (frock) coat and pantaloons. I was the only one of our party who spoke any Spanish. I asked the prisoner various questions which he answered readily. In reply to the question whether he knew where Santa Anna and Cos were, he said he presumed they had gone to the Brazos. He said he was not aware that there were any of his countrymen concealed near him, but said there *might* be in the thicket along the ravine.

Miles mounted the prisoner on his horse and walked as far as the road—about a mile.— Here he ordered the prisoner to dismount, which he did with great reluctance. He walked slowly and apparently with pain. Miles, who was a rough, reckless fellow, was carrying a Mexican lance which he had picked up during the morning, with which weapon he occasionally slightly pricked the prisoner to accelerate his pace—which sometimes amounted to a *trot*. At length he stopped and begged permission to ride—saying that he belonged to the cavalry and was unaccustomed to walking. We paused and deliberated as to what should be done with him. I asked him if he would go on to our army if left behind to travel at his leisure. He replied that he would. Miles insisted that the prisoner should be left behind—but said if he *were* left that he would kill him. He urged the rest of us to proceed on, saying “I will stay with him.” At length my compassion for the prisoner moved me to mount him behind me. I also took charge of his bundle. He was disposed to converse and as we rode along, asked me many questions, the first of which was “Did General Houston command in person in the action of yesterday?” He also asked how many prisoners we had taken and what we were going to do with them— When, in answer to an inquiry, I informed him that the Texian force in the battle of the preceding day was less than eight hundred men, he said I was surely mistaken—that our force was certainly much greater. In turn, I plied the prisoner with

divers questions. I remember asking him why he came to Texas to fight against us, to which he replied that he was a private soldier, and was bound to obey his officers. I asked him if he had a family. He replied in the affirmative, and when I enquired "Do you expect to see them again?" his only answer was a shrug of the shoulders.

We rode to that part of our camp where the prisoners were kept in order to deliver our trooper to the guard. What was our astonishment, as we approached the guard, to hear the prisoners exclaiming "El Presidente! el Presidente!" by which we were made aware that we had unwittingly captured the "Napoleon of the South." The news spread almost instantaneously through our camp and we had scarcely dismounted ere we were surrounded by an excited crowd. Some of our officers immediately took charge of the illustrious captive and conducted him to the tent of Genl. Houston.

I remained in possession of the bundle and after I went to my company I opened it. It consisted of an inferior Mexican blanket, a white linen sheet, a fine grey cloth vest with gold buttons and a Mexican bottle-gourd (guage). I afterward called on Santa Anna and offered to restore the bundle but he declined receiving it, and expressed himself very grateful for the kindness I had shown him.

After the rank of our prisoner became known I reviewed all the circumstances of his flight and capture and arrived at the conclusion that, contrary to the opinion since generally entertained, he did not reach the crossing of Vince's bayou, nor Vince's Bayou at any point. It is true that the horse upon which he fled was found near the bridge, within less than one hundred and fifty yards of Vince's house; but this fact is no evidence that the rider went that far. The horse (a fine black stallion belonging to Mr. Vince and taken from his stable by [by] the Mexicans a few days before) if abandoned by his rider even at the distance of many miles from Vince's would very naturally have gone thither and been found near his stable.

Nor is it reasonable to suppose that Santa Anna after arriving at the Bayou and finding the bridge destroyed would have liberated his horse and walked *back* nearly two miles, across an open prairie to conceal himself.— The fugitive Mexicans on the evening of the battle were closely pursued and many were cut down by our cavalry, and I doubt not that when Santa Anna arrived at the ravine before

described, he abandoned his horse and concealed himself in the nearest thicket.

It is worthy of remark that Santa Anna was less crouching than other Mexicans in whose capture I had assisted. His complexion was rather fairer than was common among the Mexican soldiers, which, together with his manners led me to suppose that he was a Frenchman. This supposition the more readily occurred to me from the circumstance that a Frenchman in the Mexican service had been made prisoner near our camp the day before the battle.

My father was a member of the first Congress of the Republic of Texas which convened at Columbia in the autumn of 1836. During the session he bought some groceries and sent them to the house of Mr. Stevens who resided about five miles south of my father and within the present limits of Fayette County. In February 1837—shortly after he returned from Columbia, my father went down to Mr. Stevens's with his cart to bring home his groceries. He was accompanied by his brother, Walter Robinson—who was quite a youth. They went with the intention of staying all night with Mr. Stevens. At that time I was at my father's on a visit—my residence being at Washington on the Brazos. Very early in the morning after my father left home, I started down to Mr. Breeden's (he resided on Cummins's creek about eight miles below my father) purposing to go thence to Washington. When I arrived at Mr. Breeden's, I learned that the night before the Indians had stolen all his horses. Knowing [sic] that my father and uncle intended starting home early that morning and that they were unarmed, I was instantly seized with a presentiment that the Indians would fall in with and murder them. I returned as speedily as possible to my mother and told her the news. She was very uneasy. It was now about noon. I armed myself and proceeded on the road towards Stevens's. I had scarcely gone a mile, when, in the open post oak woods, I found my father's cart and oxen standing in the road. The groceries were also in the cart. But neither father nor uncle was there. I had now no doubt of their fate. The conviction that they were murdered shot into my heart like a thunder bolt. Riding on a few yards farther I discovered buzzards collecting near the road. My approach scared them away and revealed to my sight the body of my father, nude, scalped and

mutilated! I dismounted and sat down by the body. After recovering a little from the shock I looked around for my uncle. I found his body, also stripped scalped and mangled, about fifty yards from my father's remains. His body was small and light and I carried it and laid it by the side of my father's. The vultures, in black groups, were perched on the trees around, and I knew they would quickly devour the bodies if I left them exposed. I covered them with my coat and saddle-blanket and piled brush upon them. I then hurried back with the woful news to my aged mother. There were between thirty and forty of these Indians. Circumstances placed it out of my power to pursue them. A few days after they murdered my father and uncle, it was ascertained that on the very same day, after going about twenty miles, they killed Mr. Gotier and his wife and carried three of their children into captivity. These children were afterwards recovered.

3. Recollections of Judge Thomas M. Duke.

(Born in Kentucky, 1795.)

Judge Duke was born in the State of Kentucky in the year 1795. In his youth he served a campaign under General Harrison and was in the battle of the Thames. He is one of many engaged in that battle who assert that Dick Johnson did *not* kill Tecumseh. Judge Duke left N. Orleans for Texas on board the *Schr. Lively* in May or June 1822. The *Lively* was wrecked on the west end of Galveston Island, whence the immigrants were taken by the Schooner *John Motley* and landed at the mouth of the Colorado in June 1822. Thence the immigrants proceeded a few miles further up the Colorado to "Jenning's camp." Judge D. continued on up to the settlement near the locality of the present town of Columbus.

The immigrants left most of their provisions and other property at the landing in charge of three men, who were shortly afterwards murdered by the Carancawas, who carried away or destroyed all the goods belonging to the settlers. This was the first outbreak of these Indians. Not long after this J. C. Clark, ———, and another man, were coming up the Colorado from Kincheloe's canebrake in a pirogue laden with corn, when they were attacked by the Carancawas. Allen and the man whose name is forgotten were

killed. Clark was severely wounded but escaped. Shortly afterwards Robert Kuykendall headed a party of settlers in an attack on the Carancawas at the mouth of Scull creek where the Indians were defeated with considerable loss. In December 1822 the Baron de Bastrop arrived at the upper settlement on the Colorado with authority to organize the colony. The settlers convened near the locality of the present town of Columbus where they took the oath of allegiance to the Emperor Iturbide and held an election for civil and militia officers which resulted in the choice of John Tomlinson for Alcalde, Robt. Kuykendall for Captain, ——— Jackson for first and Moses Morrison for second Lieutenant. The whole number of voters then on the Colorado did not exceed thirty. Judge Duke acted as secretary for the Baron de Bastrop in effecting this organization. The Baron did not proceed as far as the Brazos, as he had intended but authorized Josiah H. Bell to organize the colonists on that river. Bastrop went back to San Antonio but returned to the colony again in 1823 as commissioner to extend titles to the colonists— but his health became impaired, and he soon afterwards returned again to San Antonio. He was subsequently a delegate to the State Congress of Coahuila and Texas and Judge D. thinks he died at San Antonio in the year 1826.¹ When the Baron first came to Austin colony D. thinks he was nearly eighty years of age, but very hale and active. He was says Judge Duke, a native of Holland, but at an early age went into the service of Frederic the Great of Prussia. He soon distinguished himself and was ennobled by Frederic. At a later period he received from the King of Spain a large grant of land in Louisiana; but after the acquisition of that territory by the United States he could not sustain his claim. He thought that great injustice had been done him and always spoke in bitter terms of the United States Government. He always signed his name "El Baron de Bastrop." Judge Duke never learned his family name.²

In consequence of repeated thefts committed by the Wacoos and Tawacanies, Austin, in July 1824, sent Captain Aylett C. Buck-

¹Thrall (*A Pictorial History of Texas*, 498) says that he represented Texas in the Legislature in 1824 and in 1827, and that he died in 1828 or 1829.—EDITOR QUARTERLY.

²Thrall gives his name as P. N. Tut, and quotes Sancedo, who calls him Felipe Henrique Neri.—EDITOR QUARTERLY.

ner to make a treaty with them. Judge Duke, James Baird, Thomas H. Borden, Selkirk, ——— Jones and McCrosky, accompanied Buckner on this mission. They took with them some goods to barter with the Indians for horses. They crossed the Brazos at the San Antonio road and proceeded up the river on the east side to the Tawacanie village—thence they crossed over to the Waco village—the site of the present town of Waco. They were well received by the Indians who had recently returned from their summer buffalo-hunt and were feasting on buffalo meat, green corn and beans. They had also pumpkins and melons. They dwelt in comfortable lodges, conical in shape, the frames of which were of cedar poles or slats and thatched with grass. The largest of these lodges (their council-house), was fifty nine paces in circumference. The Wacoos and Tawacanies spoke the same language, and were essentially the same people. Judge D. thinks the two tribes could then number between two and three hundred warriors. They smoked the pipe of peace with the embassy and pledged themselves to peace and amity with the colonists. They had a great number of horses and mules. A small plug of tobacco was the price of a horse & a plug and a half that of a mule.

The embassy remained between two or [and] three weeks with the Indians and returned home by the same route they went out.

"In the year 1819" says Judge Duke "I was at Natchitoches where I formed the acquaintance of a man of the name of Scamp, who had traded with the Comanches. He informed me that he and others had, a year or two previously, obtained in the Comanche country a mass of metal weighing more than half a ton and which they believed to be platinum. They took it to New Orleans to have it tested, but not succeeding to their satisfaction they sent it to Europe for that purpose, but never heard of it again. During this expedition to the Wacoos and Tawacanies I related this story, to my companions and it resulted in our projecting an expedition the ensuing autumn towards the head of the Brazos, for the purpose of bringing away another mass of the supposed precious metal much larger than that just described. A man by the name of McWilliams, an old Comanche trader, then living on the Brazos near the San Antonio road, had stated that he had seen this metallic mass and could find it again. He also stated that the Comanches regarded it as sacred and even worshipped it. A god of plati-

num seemed worthy of *our* homage also, and we were determined to brave almost any danger to obtain it. We had an interview with McWilliams who agreed to conduct us to the hallowed deposit; but our golden visions were soon afterwards dissipated by the death of McWilliams. (May not this mineral body be identical with that said to have been obtained by Major Neighbors a year or two since on the Upper Brazos, and which has been pronounced an aerolite or meteoric stone?—K.)

Judge Duke was with Capt. Randall Jones in his fight with the Cokes in Gulf Prairie in Sept. 1824. His account of which differs little from that which has been published. Sometime during the same year he was one of a small party who were looking for Indians in the Colorado bottom; when they came upon a man and woman at their camp. They were Carancawas, and as they did not run on their approach the party resolved to make them prisoners. Capt. Robert Kuykendall was about to seize the squaw when she ran; the man also ran but did not get far as he was shot down by Daniel Rawls. Kuykendall, a man of extraordinary fleetness, pursued the squaw. She leaped across a deep ravine. With much difficulty Kuykendall performed the same feat and continued in pursuit some distance further; but the squaw effected her escape. It is Judge Duke's opinion that the Carancawas in 1822 could count between two and three hundred warriors. In this estimate he includes the Cokes and Cohannies—who were, in fact, but fragments of the Carancawa tribe.

In the year 1826 Buckner defeated a party of Carancawas below Elliott's crossing. In the winter of 1826 the families of Flowers and Cavanagh were murdered by the Carancawas. Capt. Buckner pursued them with a company. He found the Indians camped in a *mot* on the bay, about three miles east of the present town of Matagorda. He surprised them at daybreak and completely routed [them]—killing about thirty. This was the greatest loss these Indians ever sustained in any one fight with the Colonists.

In the year 1828 Judge Duke was elected first constitutional Alcalde of Austin's Colony. This court had both original and appellate Jurisdiction. In cases of appeal the inferior Alcaldes sat with him. The laws that governed him were few and simple, and "might have been written" says Judge D. "on half a page of fools cap."

Judge Duke was always a friend of Austin and has conferred his name on one of his sons; yet he thinks that his (Austin's) enemies sometimes fared better than his friends.— "Buckner and the Rabbs" said he "were at one time clamorous against him and the conciliated them by extending them favors."

Judge Duke was intimately acquainted with Capt. A. C. Buckner, who he says was a man of fair education and intelligence and of undoubted courage, but his irritability or rather irascibility, was excessive; in illustration of which Judge Duke relates the following anecdotes. "As we were returning home from our visit to the Waco village we traveled nearly all one day without any thing. I was very hungry and after we camped in the evening and before our supper was done cooking, I took a bit of meat out of the pot to appease a little the cravings of hunger. Buckner eyed me sternly, and said testily 'Duke, I wouldn't be a d—d dog.' I made some reply which transported him with anger. He challenged me to fight him on the ground and on the instant—proposing rifles as the arms and ten paces as the distance. I kept my temper and alternately laughed at him and reasoned with him. His choler soon subsided, and by next morning he was as agreeable as usual. He and Joshua Parker were once bringing home a cavallada from the Rio Grande. At their camp one night, Buckner from some trifling cause, became greatly enraged at Parker and challenged him to fight instanter with rifles. Parker, who knew his man, at once agreed to fight him, but, as it was quite dark, proposed to postpone the duel until next morning at daylight. Buckner reluctantly assented to the proposal and passed a sleepless night. At the dawn of next morning he rose to prepare for the combat, but found Parker still asleep. Daylight came and Parker still snored on. Buckner became impatient and touching Parker, awoke him. "Come Parker" said he "we are to fight this morning." Parker, after stretching his limbs and yawning said "Buckner, I have been thinking upon this matter and have come to the conclusion that we had better not fight, for if we should both fall what in the h—ll would become of the *cavallada*?" This stroke of humor had the desired effect. Buckner quickly pacified, and the partners resumed their journey perfectly reconciled.

Buckner, like Herbert's Scandinavian "champion" seems to have been—

“mild and kind”
Save when the fury vex’d his mind.”¹

“In the year 1841” said Judge Duke “while I was collector of customs at Paso Cavallo, an old Portuguese sailor lived with me for some time. He told me in substance the following story which I credit.— He had served under Lafitte at Baratavia and Galveston but was discharged by him when he broke up his establishment at the latter place. Afterwards he again met with Lafitte at Charleston S. C. Here Lafitte had purchased an interest in a vessel which soon after sailed to the Island of Mugerres where she was laden with dye-woods and sent back to the United States. Lafitte remained in Yucatan and his old Portuguese follower remained with him. Lafitte went from Merida to the Indian village of Celan(?) where he died. His old follower attended him in his last illness and after seeing the remains of his beloved commander interred in the Campo Santo of Merida, went to Honduras. The old sailor did not remember the year of our Lord in which Lafitte’s death happened, but recollected that the passport he obtained at Merida immediately after that event was dated, to use his own words “in the year two.” (Probably 1825 or 1826.)

Austin, says Judge Duke, tried to induce the Tonkewas to cultivate the soil. He gave the chief, Carita, hoes and other farming implements and an ample supply of seed corn and Carita promised that his people should clear land in the Colorado bottom and plant corn. But with this promise he had, probably, no intention to comply. He made bread of the seed corn and after it was all consumed visited Austin and informed him that the Great Spirit had told the Tonkewas not to raise corn but hunt as they had always been accustomed to do, and look to their white friends for the staff of life. Whereupon Austin informed that *he* was inspired to say that the Tonkewas would starve if they did not go to work. The Tonkewas, however, never essayed to till the soil.

Carita, says the Judge, was a very shrewd Indian and quite

¹NOTE.—Captain A. C. Buckner lived and died a bachelor.—He was a Virginian by birth, and emigrated to Texas in 1821, bringing with him a considerable quantity of gun powder which he sold to the settlers at six dollars a pound. These facts are on the authority of Capt. John Ingram—an old friend of Buckner.—[J. H. K.]

sharp at driving a bargain. He was wont to say that if Austin would trade with him he could cheat him out of his Colony.

In the year 1834 or 1835, the Tonkewas, instigated by the Mexicans of Victoria, treacherously assassinated fifteen or twenty of the Carancawas. The Tonkewas went to the camp of the Carancawas, taking with them a small boy who secretly cut the bowstrings of the Carancawas, upon which the Tonkewas fell upon them and murdered all but two or three.

The DeLeons and other Mexicans of Victoria had large stocks of cattle near the coast. They charged the Carancawas (and probably with truth) with stealing their cattle, and one of them resolved to exterminate the Indians by means of poison. The person to whom he applied for the poison, divining his purpose, gave him cream of tartar instead of arsenic. A large quantity of boiled corn was the vehicle of this supposed poison. The savory hominy was charitably distributed to the red men who took it to their camp and ate it. The next morning to the astonishment of the hospitable Don, the Carancawas presented themselves before him and begged for another supply of boiled corn!

In the spring of 1836 the Carancawas could still count twenty five or thirty warriors. When the Mexican army of invasion reached our frontier they joined it and fought against us at the Mission of Refugio in March 1836. They had previously offered to fight for the Americans but their offer was either rejected or neglected.¹

¹NOTE.—In the year 1855 the once formidable tribe of Carancawas had dwindled to six or eight individuals who were residing near San Fernando, State of Tamaulipas, Mexico.—J. H. K.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

The November issue of *Publications* of the Southern History Association (Vol. VI, No. 6) is devoted entirely to the publication of documents and book reviews. The documents are: "A Southern Sulky Ride in 1837"—from Taboro, North Carolina, to Alabama—(to be continued); "General Sumter and his Neighbors" (concluded); and "Early Quaker Records in Virginia" (continued).

Out West, which in the past has published numerous sources bearing on the history of Spanish activities in the West, has now turned to the history of the English in that quarter. The November number (Vol. XVII, No. 5) begins a series of documents entitled *Early English Voyages to the Pacific Coast of America (From their own and contemporary accounts.)* The first number is the story of Sir Francis Drake's voyage to the Pacific, from a contemporary English account. The editor promises the resumption of the publication of translations from the Ramirez collection.

The October number of the *American Historical Review* (Vol. VIII, No. 1) contains *The Financial Relations of the Knights Templars to the English Crown*, by Eleanor Ferris; *Habeas Corpus in the Colonies*, by A. H. Carpenter; *John Quincy Adams and the Monroe Doctrine*, II, by Worthington C. Ford; and *Lincoln and the Patronage*, by Carl R. Fish. We are told by the author that the last named article "is a by-product of a work on the history of the patronage." The documents published in this number are: *English Policy Toward America in 1790-1791*, II; *Two Letters of Richard Cromwell, 1659*; *A Letter of Marquis de La Fayette, 1781*; and *A Letter of Alexander H. Stephens, 1854*.

The following is the table of contents of *The Gulf States Historical Magazine* for November, 1902 (Vol. I, No. 3):

"The Necessity for a New Life of Andrew Jackson," by Arthur S. Colyar; "The Continuity of Constitutional Government in Mex-

ico under President Juarez," by Clarence Ousley; "Louisiana History in Government Documents," by William Beer; "How the News of the Assassination of President Lincoln was Received by the Confederate Prisoners on Johnson's Island," by John W. Inzer; "Florida Historical Documents," by Edwin L. Green; and "The Ross Family," by Thomas M. Owen. Among the documents printed in this number is a letter of John C. Calhoun's which escaped Prof. Jameson's search.

Dos Antiguas Relaciones de la Florida. By Genaro Garcia. (México: J. Aguilar y Comp. (S. en C.) 1902. Quarto, Pp. CII, 226.)

Under the above title Señor Garcia publishes for the first time two valuable documents, namely *Vida y Hechos de Pero Menendez de Avilés*, etc., by Bartolomé Barrientos, and *Relacion de los Trabajos que la Gente de Una Nao Llamada Nra Señora de la Merced Padecio*, etc., by Fray Andrés de San Miguel.

Señor Garcia's introduction to the volume, occupying more than ninety pages, is divided into three chapters. The first is made up of biographical and bibliographical notes on the authors whose works he publishes. Chapter II, entitled "La Florida," contains nine sections, devoted respectively to early explorers, to Juan Ponce de León, Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón, Pánfilo de Narvaez, Hernando de Soto, Jean Ribaut, René de Laudonnière, Pedro Menendez de Avilés, and to the natives. In the third chapter, treating of the natives of America under Spanish rule, Señor Garcia writes in a vein in keeping with his recently published *Carácter de la Conquista Española en América en México según los Textos de los Historiadores Primitivos* (reviewed in THE QUARTERLY, Vol. VI, No. 1). He exhibits from the Spanish historians themselves the harsh treatment received by the natives at the hands of the *conquistadores*. Nor does he spare the Spanish rulers, but charges them with not taking care to properly regulate the management of the Indians in the interest of humanity. He disproves of calling Isabella protector of the natives, and accuses Charles V. of neglect to clothe the local authorities in America with power to proceed against individuals guilty of ill treatment of the Indians. Although this chapter is not a constructive study of Spanish colonial institutions, it throws valuable light on some phases of the question with which it

deals. In this connection the editor takes occasion to reply, in a foot note of perhaps a thousand words, to two Spanish writers who have attacked his recent work mentioned above. Señor Garcia knows his ground, has a high spirit, and can take care of himself in a tilt with his critics.

Among the few things that Señor Garcia is able to tell us about Barrientos, author of the *Vida y Hechos*, are the facts that he was professor of Latin in the University of Salamanca, an accomplished scholar, and an ardent Catholic. The work was written in 1568, but soon disappeared, and in spite of the efforts of bibliophiles to find it, remained hidden until 1885, when it was unexpectedly offered for sale in Madrid. It is divided into 52 chapters, occupying 152 pages. It deals in part with a description of Florida, but more largely with the deeds of Menéndez de Avilés. Barrientos was partisan enough to look upon the massacre of the Huguenots as an 'heroic deed' brought about by divine agency, and perhaps his prime motive in writing it was to give Philip II. the satisfaction of reading about the destruction of the 'Lutherans.' Barrientos was probably not in Florida with Menedez, but, says Señor Garcia, as he wrote from plentiful first-hand material, furnished by personal witnesses of the events he describes, he has given us, perhaps, in spite of his strong Catholic bias, the most authentic account of the Menendez expedition.

Fray Andrés de San Miguel came to the New World in 1593, in a ship called Nuestra Señora de la Merced. His detailed account of the voyage is the second *Relacion* published in the volume under review. He came to America a second time in 1597, entered a religious house at Puebla, and later became a noted scholar and engineer. Commenting on his *Relacion* Señor Garcia says: 'Independently of the unquestionable merit it possesses of having been written by a witness of the events embraced in it, other circumstances exist which make it doubly valuable, such as its constant truth, its delicate beauty, its natural and exquisitely tasteful grace, the ingenuous fidelity of the characters, the dramatic interest, sustained without effort, and the valuable teachings in which it abounds.'

H. E. B.

Aus Meinen Lebensführungen. Von C. Urbantke. Cincinnati: Druck von Jennings & Pye für den Autor. 1902. 12 mo., 168 Seiten; Leinwand.

This carefully written autobiography contains interesting material touching portions of the history of our State during the fifty years just past. A brief synopsis of this material may be of service, so the narrative is summarized as follows:

The great emigration of Germans to Texas in 1848-49 caused numerous reports of the excellence of the climate and of the fertility of the soil to be published in various parts of Europe. These reports caused the author to remove hither. He landed at Harrisburg in October, 1853. From Harrisburg he proceeded by rail to Walles Station, the terminus, seventeen miles distant; flat cars were used for transportation and four hours required for the trip. At Milheim he attended a German ball, and he gives a description of men's clothing and of the culture of the company. After serving for three years for hire, he purchased a piece of raw land and began to open up a farm. Barring Indians, he suffered nearly all the hardships of earlier colonists. The privations entailed by the Civil War are touched upon.

Exempted from service in the war on account of physical ailment, he came in contact with Methodist missionaries in 1862, was converted, and finally became a circuit rider in the M. E. Church, South. However, since the church published no church literature (catechisms, hymnals, disciplines, etc.) in the German language, the German churches of Texas used those of the Northern Church. The relations thus maintained and the outcome of the war prompted a movement having for its end the reunion of the German churches of the North and South. The German missionaries in Texas conferred with each other on this matter, laid the subject before their congregations, and in several instances reunion was determined upon. On January 3, 1867, the Texas Mission Conference was organized at Houston; Bishop Simpson presided and eighty or ninety ministers attended, of which number only eight or ten were white—three German. In 1873 the Texas Conference was divided into four annual conferences—two colored and two white; the Southern German Conference included the German missions in Texas and Louisiana. The growth of this conference (which is sketched briefly) created a demand for additional workers, and led to the founding in 1882 of Mission Institute at Brenham. The last chapter of the book gives an account of the history of this school over which the author presided for seventeen years.

E. W. WINKLER.

NOTES AND FRAGMENTS.

SOME CORRECTIONS.—In the notes to the *Reminiscences of Sion R. Bostick* in THE QUARTERLY for October, 1901, the name of Joel W. Robison is incorrectly spelled "Robinson"; and in the number for October, 1902, p. 168, the name "Joel W. Robinson" should be James W. Robinson. See note page 241.

MATERIALS FOR TEXAS HISTORY AT THE STATE UNIVERSITY.—The Bexar Archives, the Austin Papers, the Papers of the Texas Veterans' Association, the Roberts Papers, and the most valuable documents belonging to the collection of the Historical Association are now stored in the fireproof vault of the University. The work of classifying and indexing them is being pushed forward as energetically as possible. The task, however, is too great to be accomplished quickly. The materials in the Bexar Archives are now arranged in separate groups according to date, one for each year from 1730 to 1835, and it is possible for an industrious and well equipped investigator to exploit the mass for any given year in a comparatively short time and with a fair degree of assurance that he has missed nothing; but the work of reading and indexing, which must follow, is vast. It is much increased by the multitudes of puzzles arising from the bad Spanish and bad chirography of many of the documents, and it will probably require considerable time to put them in anything like good condition for reference.

LANDMARKS PRESERVED BY DAUGHTERS OF THE REPUBLIC OF TEXAS.—In pursuance of one of the objects of this organization, the Daughters of the Republic of Texas have, within the last two years, marked some important places connected with the history of the State. Realizing the importance of preserving the identity of different points on the battle field of San Jacinto, and acting in concert with the Texas Veterans' Association, San Jacinto Chapter carried out the scheme of placing iron markers wherever the truth of history required. The following account of the occasion, July

4, 1901, when the markers were placed, is taken from the *Houston Post* for June 4, 1901:

"The party leaving the Grand Central depot at 9:45 a. m., on the La Porte train, comprised Mrs. J. J. McKeever, Jr., President San Jacinto Chapter; Mrs. Maggie Houston Williams, Mrs. J. R. Fenn, Miss Belle Fenn, Miss Millie Thatcher, Mrs. Frank Moore, Mrs. J. J. Fenn, members of the Daughters of the Republic, and the following guests and friends of the Association: Judge S. J. Hendrick, member of the Legislature and San Jacinto Commissioner; Mr. J. W. Winters, one of the survivors of the battle of San Jacinto, and his son, J. W. Winters, Jr., of Big Foot, Frio county; Mr. J. W. Maxcy, of Houston, civil and landscape engineer; George A. Hill, Secretary of San Jacinto Commission, and son of Colonel James M. Hill, of Austin, Vice-President of Veterans' Association and survivor of battle of San Jacinto; Col. J. R. Fenn, of Houston; S. Houston Williams, grandson of the immortal hero, Sam Houston; Mr. J. J. Fenn, Houston; Mr. Ingham S. Roberts, Houston, and Mr. T. S. Gibbs, of Huntsville. These were met at Deer Park, on the La Porte and Northern Railway, by Mr. E. E. Adams and J. W. Baldridge, of Deer Park, and teams from La Porte, which took the party to the battle grounds.

"No time was lost after the arrival on the scene where Houston's army encamped on the bayou. Mrs. McKeever called the meeting to order and inaugurated the practical business that brought them to this sacred spot.

"Upon motion, Judge Hendrick was made chairman, and George A. Hill, secretary.

"Judge Hendrick delivered quite an interesting historical talk from a commanding spot, and pointed out at a distance the movements of the two armies from the time of their joint arrival to the noted battles of the 20th and 21st, and using a list of the events prepared by the Daughters suggested that the monuments be at once established, commencing in their order with the camp of General Houston, where he lay wounded under a tree on the bayou, and the spot where Santa Anna was delivered to him a captive.

"The temporary improvised monuments consist of a galvanized one-inch pipe about 12 feet in length, and a cross at the top, which was driven in the ground to a depth of about nine feet. The driving process is not a picnic exercise, but this was not fully under-

stood in the initiatory proceedings, as all of the gentlemen were cheerful volunteers, but Judge Hendrick claimed the privilege of driving in monument No. 1, which he did, but it was observed that he modestly retired and never volunteered thereafter.

"Following No. 1 the other monuments were placed in the following order:

"No. 2. Position of Twin Sisters cannon on 20th, during the cannon battle and cavalry skirmish.

"No. 3. Camp of General Burleson's regiment.

"No. 4. Camp of General Millard's regiment.

"No. 5. Camp of Cavalry regiment.

"No. 6. Camp of General Sherman's regiment.

"No. 7. Line of Sherman's advance on 21st.

"(b) Iron pipe on the line of Burleson's advance on the 21st.

"(a) Iron pipe on the line of artillery advance on the 21st.

"(m) Iron pipe on the line of Millard's advance on the 2st.

"Double locust tree, Lamar's artillery, on the 21st.

"Double post oak tree marked X, position of Mexican artillery on the 20th, in Post Oak Grove.

"Iron pipe south of west Post Oak Grove, near old Sewell homestead, in shell bed, where cavalry fought on 20th.

"No. 8. Iron cross south end of Mexican breastworks and cavalry engagement on the 21st.

"No. 9. Where Houston was wounded and lost his first horse, killed from under him.

"No. 10. Iron cross, Mexican cannon.

"No. 11. Iron cross north end of Mexican breastwork.

"No. 11½. Iron pipe cast iron cross No. 10, where General Santa Anna had his hammock swung supported by four brass posts.

"No. 12. Iron cross where Mexicans were captured, including General Almonte, in a grove across the Santa Anna slough, where the dead Mexicans and horses made an effective pontoon bridge for over 100 yards."

In placing these markers, Mr. J. W. Winter indicated the different localities, he having been appointed by the Texas Veterans' Association for this purpose. Mr. Winters had been on the battle field several times since the memorable battle, thus keeping the recollection of places and events fresh in his mind.

Whenever the State places a substantial fence around the field,

making of it a State park, it is designed to replace these iron markers with stone tablets.

At San Antonio, De Zavala Chapter has placed tablets in two historic buildings, as follows:

Inscription of tablet on the Veramendi house:

"The Veramendi House,
Where Ben Milam was killed
Dec. 7, 1835,
And where Bowie won his bride.
De Zavala Chapter,
Daughters of the Republic of Texas."

Inscription of tablet on the Hugo & Schmeltzer building, which is part of the old convent of the Mission San Antonio de Valero, and is adjoining the Alamo:

"Part of the Franciscan Mission
San Antonio de Valero,
With the Alamo and this square,
The scene of heroism unsurpassed.
De Zavala Chapter,
Daughters of the Republic of Texas."

Perceiving that the old Spanish Mission of San José, the most artistic of all these fine old buildings in the neighborhood of San Antonio, was much in need of fencing to prevent our modern vandals from chipping its walls away, a fence was put around it by the same chapter, and some very necessary repairs made in the building itself. In this work the chapter was materially aided by a donation of \$50.00 from Miss Helen Gould, and \$25.00 from the local chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, the total outlay being \$318.38.

The Henry Downs Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, of Waco, has pledged itself to assist the Daughters of the Republic of Texas in restoring or preserving the other missions, and it is hoped that their example may be followed by the other chapters throughout the State.

The interest recently awakened among the Federated Women's Clubs of Texas on the subject of Texas history and the preservation

of our old missions furnishes a very encouraging note in the hitherto apathetic tone of public spirit regarding this urgent public work.

ADELE B. LOOSCAN,
Historian, Daughters of the Republic of Texas.

AFFAIRS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

The members of the Association are reminded that the regular annual meeting will be held at Waco on San Jacinto day. The Texas Veterans' Association and the Daughters of the Republic of Texas will be in session there at the same time, and the exercises will be at least partly in common. No further notice is to be expected. These joint annual meetings have proved themselves highly enjoyable; and if the members who have never attended them will try the experiment they will need no persuasion to come again.

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OF THE

TEXAS STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

PUBLICATION COMMITTEE.

JOHN H. REAGAN.

GEORGE P. GARRISON.

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EDITOR.

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CONTENTS.

THE DISTURBANCES AT ANAHUAC IN 1882.....	Edna Rowe.
THE ALAMO MONUMENT.....	C. W. Raines.
REMINISCENCES OF EARLY TEXANS, II.....	J. H. Kuykendall.
BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.	
NOTES AND FRAGMENTS.	
QUERIES AND ANSWERS.	
AFFAIRS OF THE ASSOCIATION.	

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The constitution of the Association provides that "Members who show, by published work, special aptitude for historical investigation, may become Fellows. Thirteen Fellows shall be elected by the Association when first organized, and the body thus created may thereafter elect additional Fellows on the nomination of the Executive Council. The number of Fellows shall never exceed fifty."

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The Life Members at present are:

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THE QUARTERLY

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THE DISTURBANCES AT ANAHUAC IN 1832.

EDNA ROWE.

In her narrow prejudice, Mexico pursued a policy towards her colonists in Texas which finally led to open revolt. She first offered liberal encouragement to colonization by the national colonization laws of January 4, 1823, and August 18, 1824, which were followed up by the State of Coahuila and Texas in its colonization law of March 24, 1825.⁵ These laws led to a rapid influx of immigrants, especially from the United States. Realizing the advantage the acquisition of Texas would be to her, the United States government instructed its minister at Mexico, Mr. Poinsett, in 1825, in 1827, and in 1829 to make propositions to the Mexican government for the purchase of all or a part of Texas. A jealousy of the views of the United States and a fear of the growing strength of the colonists in Texas drove Mexico to pass the famous law of April 6, 1830.¹ The national colonization law of August 18, 1824, had provided, in Article 7, that "Until after the year 1840, the general congress shall not prohibit the entrance of any foreigner, as a colonist, unless circumstances shall require it, with respect to the individuals of a particular nation."² In 1830, the Mexican general

¹Henry Austin to Stephen F. Austin, July 2, 1830. Austin Papers.

²Holley, *Texas* (1833), 203.

congress took advantage of the reservation in the last clause of this article. Lucas Alamán, secretary of state, by his *iniciativa* influenced Congress to pass a decree against colonization from the United States. He gave a minute account of the policy of the United States in acquiring foreign territory. He called especial attention to their method of procedure¹—"They commenced by introducing themselves into the territory which they covet" upon various pretenses. Then 'these colonies grow, set up rights, and bring forward ridiculous pretensions.' "Their machinations in the country they wish to acquire are then brought to light by the appearance of explorers" who excite by degrees movements which disturb the political state of the country in dispute. Texas, he says, has reached this point. Next "the diplomatic management commences."

The complaint of Alamán indicates the Mexican standpoint so clearly that it deserves quoting at length. In regard to the affairs of Texas, he says, "If we now examine the present condition of Texas, brought about by the policy which I have unveiled at length, we will find that the majority of the population is composed of natives of the United States of the North; that they occupy the frontier posts on the coast and the mouths of rivers; that the number of Mexicans inhabiting that country is insignificant, when compared with the North Americans; that they come from all directions to settle upon the fertile lands, taking notice that most of them do so without previously complying with the requisites of our laws, or in violation of existing contracts. The Mexican population is, as it were, stationary; while theirs is increasing, particularly from the number of slaves introduced by them, and whom they retain, without manumitting them, as they should do, in conformity with the 2d article of the law of 13th of July, 1824.

"This numerical superiority, and the legal supremacy which they will acquire from the act of the Legislature declaring to be citizens all who have resided five years in the State, (in consequence of which, nearly all these foreigners will become so next year;) their having rendered themselves masters of the best points, and their having had it in their power to execute their policy with impunity, and without having been compelled to fulfil the con-

¹Filisola, *Memorias para la Historia de la Guerra de Tejas*, II 592-593. Translation in Executive Documents of 25th Congress, No. 351, pp. 313-316.

tracts entered into for their establishment, or refrained from locating themselves on the frontiers, and other parts, from which they were excluded by existing laws and orders; and, above all, the unrestrained introduction of adventurers: all this has given them a preponderance in Texas, which now hardly belongs in fact to the Mexican confederacy, since the orders of the Government are obeyed or not according to the choice of the colonists; and the moment seems to be near at hand when that territory will be taken from us and added to the United States of the North.

“The violation of the colonization laws and of existing contracts has continued without any effect having been produced by the orders issued on the 15th July and 22d August, 1826, against the admission of colonists from the conterminous nations; by that of the 2d of June, 1827, restricting to those contracted for the number of families in the new settlements; or that of the 23d [of April], 1828, providing that the colonies formed on the lands adjoining the dividing line between the United Mexican States and the United States of the North should be composed of families not natives of the said United States of the North. These provisions, which, if faithfully executed, would have checked the execution of the North American policy, and neutralized their projects, have remained without effect; and the colonists coming from those States have located themselves wherever they thought fit, not only for their own interests, but also for that of their fellow-citizens generally; the colonization laws and their own stipulations remaining a dead letter. Hence we find that, besides this territory having been occupied by colonists who never ought to have been admitted into it, there is not one among them, in Texas, who is a Catholic: and this is a circumstance which has been attended to, in all the contracts which have been formed, as one of the leading articles. Another abuse which recommends itself to attention, is the introduction of slaves, and the number already there.”

Alamán then points out the remedies for these mistakes. The measures proposed by him were formulated and adopted in the decree of April 6, 1830. The fourth article of this law provided for a military occupation of Texas. It decreed that, “The executive shall have the power to take the lands it may consider desirable

for the purpose of fortifications or arsenals and for new colonies, crediting the states with their value on account of the State debt to the federation."¹ The most important of all the articles was the 11th. It prohibited the further introduction of Anglo-American colonists into Texas. "In the exercise of the privilege that the general congress retained in the 7th article of the law of August 18, 1824, the citizens of foreign conterminous territory are prohibited from colonizing in those states and territories of the federation bounded by their nations. In consequence the unfulfilled contracts which are contrary to this law shall be suspended."² In a letter to Stephen F. Austin, dated New Orleans, December 4, 1830, Mr. James Wm. Breedlove of the Mexican consulate in that city encloses a clipping from a Baltimore newspaper in which the Mexican minister, José M. Tornel, published the 11th article of the decree of April 6 and warns the citizens of the United States against violating it. He says, "Wherefore I declare in the name of the Mexican Government, that whatever contract shall have been made in violation of the said law, will be null and void, it being understood that colonization in the State of Coahuila and Texas, and the territory of New Mexico, by citizens of the United States, has been prohibited."³ Breedlove as well as Austin himself believed that this law did not extend to Austin's colony. The former said, "I feel very certain that Colonel Tornel did not mean this publication to extend to any grant which stood on the same grounds yours does, and so I have explained his meaning to all who have called on me." Austin's opinion was this: "The 10th article of that law declares that no variation shall be made in the colonies already established—my colony is established and no legal impediment can of course be interposed to the removal of emigrants to it."⁴

Alamán's report to congress called attention to the need of an adjustment of the trade relations with Texas. The 13th article of the decree was a fruitful source of discord in the colony later. It provided that "The free introduction of lumber for building and

¹Filisola, *Guerra de Tejas*, I 560. In the citations to follow this work will be referred to as Filisola.

²Filisola, I 651.

³J. W. Breedlove to Stephen F. Austin, Dec. 4, 1830. Austin Papers.

⁴Stephen F. Austin to E. Ellis, June 16, 1830. Austin Papers.

of all kinds of foreign provisions is permitted in the ports of Galveston and Matagorda for a period of two years."¹ Article 1 allowed the introduction of cotton goods through the ports of the Republic until January 1, 1831, and through the ports of the Pacific until the end of June of the same year. Speaking of these articles Austin says, "No duty of any kind will be collected except tonnage duties until after the expiration of the law of 1823 excepting Texas from duties for seven years from its publication in the capital of Texas,—It expires November next."²

Some idea of the intense feeling aroused by these laws is obtained from a letter by T. J. Chambers calling Austin to San Felipe de Austin on account of the "most violent and fatal measures," taken by both the State and general governments in regard to the Americans. "The ebullition of public feeling in our quarter is fearful."³

The government was in earnest and promptly took measures to carry out the decree of April 6, 1830. General Mier y Terán,⁴ general commandant of the Eastern Internal States, requested and obtained from the federal government the authority to use half a million dollars in order to perform the duties that this law imposed on him and to carry out a project he had formed of introducing twenty poor families from each Mexican State to colonize the frontier, and, with the Mexican soldiers stationed at suitable places, to act as a counterpoise to the foreign population.⁵ His plan for introducing Mexican families failed on account of neglect on the part of the governors of the States.

In July, 1830, Terán was at Matamoras with two or three hundred men awaiting the arrival of larger forces to be used in the establishment of posts and custom-houses in Texas. Col. Davis Bradburn was already under orders for Galveston. It was reported that he was to leave for Texas on one of the two schooners which were expected from Tampico, to survey the coast of Texas and act as commissary for supplying the troops with provisions from New

¹Filisola, I 560.

²Stephen F. Austin to E. Ellis, June 16, 1830. Austin Papers.

³T. J. Chambers to Stephen F. Austin, May 12, 1830. Austin Papers.

⁴Usually written simply Terán.

⁵Filisola, I 162-164.

Orleans.¹ In the early part of 1831, General Terán gave the final order for Bradburn, with fifty militiamen from Pueblo-Viejo and the 12th regiment of regular infantry, to embark at Brazos de Santiago in a small vessel for Galveston. Thirty men from the presidial company of Espíritu Santo were to join these by land.² This force was stationed on Galveston Bay at a place which had formerly been known as Perry's Point and now received the name, Anahuac,³ given to the City of Mexico by the original inhabitants of that country.⁴ Another small detachment of infantry and cavalry was stationed at Arroyo de la Vaca. At Tenoxtitlan, where the road from San Antonio to Nacogdoches crossed the Brazos River, there were stationed the presidial company of the Alamo of Parras composed of seventy men and a like force from the presidial company of Bexar. Between Nacogdoches and Anahuac the general established Fort Terán and at the mouth of the Brazos River Fort Velasco was erected. One detachment was stationed at each of these forts. Mexican troops were also placed at Nacogdoches, Bexar, and San Felipe de Austin.

As the seven years had expired which were allowed by the law of 1823 for importation of goods into Texas free of duty, General Terán appointed officials for the custom-houses to be established at Galveston and Matagorda and the receiver's office at Velasco. The last two offices were provisional in character.

On the 18th of May, 1830, George Fisher undertook the duties of administrator of the custom-house of Galveston.⁵

¹Henry Austin to Stephen F. Austin, July 2, 1830. Austin Papers.

²Filisola, I 165.

³This name should be Anáhuac, but the Texas pronunciation has made it Anahuac. The accent is therefore omitted as misleading.

⁴*A Visit to Texas*, 78.

⁵George Fisher had led a rather checkered career. He was first a citizen of Belgrade in the province of Serbia of the Ottoman Empire. His name was Ribon which in German is Fischer and by this name he was known when he was at school in Austria. In the United States it was anglicized into Fisher. At the age of seventeen he was involved in a revolt against the sultan, and on the failure of the rebellion he with others was driven across the Danube into Austria. The Austrian government, not liking the presence of so many revolutionists organized a Slavonic legion, and Fisher entered it. After a campaign in Italy the legion was disbanded in the

In conformity with the colonization laws, grants of land had been made in 1828 to the inhabitants living east of the San Jacinto River.¹ The population in this quarter increased rapidly, and it became necessary to provide for the issuance of land titles and the administration of law in the district. At the suggestion of Stephen F. Austin, a petition with seventy-two signatures was prepared for this purpose and sent to the governor of Coahuila and Texas. In 1830, the governor commissioned Francisco Madero, a citizen of Monclova, to issue titles to the people settled in that district.² In January, 1831, Madero arrived on the Trinity River. At a meeting of the people held at Atascosita, "Smith's Place" was selected as the county seat and the name of Liberty given to it.³ Madero installed the *ayuntamiento*, and with the assistance of his surveyor, José María Carbajal,⁴ he assigned the people their lands.

Bradburn immediately informed General Terán of Madero's arrival. Terán sent an order both to Bradburn and to Colonel Piedras at Nacogdoches for the arrest of Madero and his surveyor. The reason given by Bradburn for making the arrest was that it was by order of his superior. Terán gave as his reason, that Madero was violating the decree of April 6, 1830. At the opening of the congress of the State on January 2, 1832, the governor in his

interior of that country. Fisher worked his way back, after various experiences, along the Danube river into Turkey as far as Adrianople. He left Turkey again and found his way to Hamburg in Germany, where he embarked in 1815 for Philadelphia. He went west and wandered down to Mississippi, where, after a residence of five years, he became a citizen of the United States. After Mexico became independent in 1821, Fisher moved thither, and became a citizen of that country. In 1830 he accepted this position in Galveston which he held with frequent intermissions during 1830—1833. He returned to Mexico during the presidency of Santa Anna and set up a newspaper. He soon became so liberal in his views that he was asked to leave the country. He then came to Texas to live. (See John L. Stephens, *Yucatan*, 84.)

¹Proceedings of the *ayuntamiento* of San Felipe de Austin, July 26, 1832. Nacogdoches Archives.

²*Ibid.*

³*Texas Almanac*, 1859, p. 30.

⁴Carbajal was a native of Béjar, but was reared and educated in the United States. (See Filisola, I 167.)

message said, "The public tranquillity has not been disturbed in any manner in any place in the State, even though Col. Davis Bradburn assumed without the authority of the government the power of arresting a commissioner of the government itself for the distribution of lands"

The next illegal act committed by Bradburn was hindering an election for *alcalde* and members of the *ayuntamiento*,¹ ordered by the governor of the State, to be held at Liberty by the *alcalde* of that town, Hugh B. Johnson. Bradburn threatened to use military force for preventing the election. Filisola says that from the moment that the *ayuntamiento* was established, the *alcalde* and *regidores* began to oppose Colonel Davis and the collector of customs, Fisher. They even threatened the latter with pistols in his own house.²

"The general commandant without authority from the State took possession of and appropriated such lands as he deemed proper.³ Bradburn took the property of the colonists without their consent and without consideration."⁴

December 10, 1831, Bradburn, by order of General Terán, dissolved the *ayuntamiento* of Liberty, which had been established by Madero, though not up to that time confirmed by the State government. Without the authority of the State, Bradburn established a new *ayuntamiento* at Anahuac.

The establishment of custom-houses in Texas was followed by innumerable troubles. It has been stated that on May 18, 1830, George Fisher entered upon the office of collector of customs at Galveston. In a letter dated February 16, 1831, to José María Letona, Terán says he had learned of the establishment of the custom-house at Galveston by George Fisher under authority of the government. He also adds that the said establishment was sus-

¹Proceedings of the *ayuntamiento* of San Felipe de Austin, July 26, 1832. Nacogdoches Archives.

²Filisola, I 168.

³Proceedings of the *ayuntamiento* of San Felipe de Austin, July 26, 1832. Nacogdoches Archives.

⁴Thrall, *Pictorial History of Texas*, 179; quoted from a pamphlet published by T. J. Chambers in 1832.

pended "because there is no place to locate a custom-house at present."

The seizure of the schooner *Cañon* with its contraband goods by George Fisher just before the suspension of the custom-house at Galveston gave rise to an attack on that official by the *Texas Gazette*. To vindicate himself, Fisher had Terán's official statement in regard to the affair published in an extra of the "*Guia del Pueblo*" as given below:

"GUIA DEL PUEBLO.¹

"ALCANCE AL NUM. 37.

"Manuel de Mier y Teran, Gen. of Division of the army of the Mexican Republic, commandant in chief of that of the operations, and Gen. and Inspector of the Eastern Internal States.

"I certify: that in the office of secretary to the general commandancy of these states under my charge, there are proofs, that the schooner, *Cañon* and her captain have been surprised at the Bar of Rio Brasos de Dios, with a contraband of 160 quintals of tobacco, and in consequence of the fine of 25 dollars for each arroba of said article which the particular law of the state of Coahuila and Texas imposes, the said vessel was seized by citizen George Fisher Administrator of the maritime custom-house of Galveston, in compliance to the said law; and by means of suitable requisites. In this state of the matter, the administration of said maritime custom-house was suspended; for reasons very different from the acts of said Administrator Fisher, and the cognizance of the contraband was remitted to the commissary at Bexar, remaining Fisher in my opinion exempt from all responsibility, by having surrendered said vessel in quality of seized, to the civil authority of the town of Austin.

"In testimony of which I give the present in Matamoras, this third day of May, one thousand eight hundred and thirty one.

Manuel de Mier y Teran.

NOTE.

"From the foregoing certificate of His Excellency the commandant general, it is evident that the administration of the Maritime cus-

¹Printed in English and in Spanish. Bad as the English is, I have thought best to use it rather than a better translation here. The number from which the extract is taken is in the Bexar Archives.

tom-house of Galveston which was under my charge in Texas, has not been suspended on account of *my acts*; but for reasons *very different*, from them; and that the calumny published by order of the ayuntamiento of the town of Austin in the *Texas Gazette* No. 45 of the 23 of Oct: 1830; criticized and corroborated in its editorial paragraph; and that, propagated afterwards by Edward L. Pettitt, captain of schooner *Cañon*; are *in part* refuted and proved to be infamous slanders; prompted by a spirit of vengeance and persecution which I have suffered, for having supported the rights of the nation and of the people of the colonies in Texas; shall appear in course of time, according to my former binding promises.

George Fisher."

In a letter of the 16th of February, 1831, to Governor Letona Terán says, "Fisher informed me of the acts and the communications of the municipality of Austin, and I saw that they were very illegal and violent, and to the letter relating to them which that corporation sent me, I answered that the review of the said acts was not one of my functions but that it devolved on the political governor of the State." Terán complains to the governor "that it appears that in the villa of Austin the decrees and orders of the government do not circulate when they are contrary to the interests of the enterprise of colonization, some which Fisher desired to publish being kept from the knowledge of the community."

Even before the trouble just mentioned in collecting duties at Galveston, contraband goods were being seized at other points of Texas. Erasmo Seguin, at Bexar, reported June 2, 1830, that "In the inspection that I have just made of the goods presented by the citizen Don Juan Sol, I have found forty pairs of men's shoes of foreign manufacture, which I have held back on account of the provision forbidding their introduction in the last law concerning the maritime custom-house and frontier." Two months later a report was received by Gaspar Flores at Bexar, from José M. Salinas, notifying him of the seizure of eight sacks of ammunition of foreign manufacture which had been introduced from New Orleans, through the custom-house of Matagorda, though their entry was prohibited.¹

¹This letter and the report of Seguin already referred to are in the Bexar Archives.

In the first part of November, 1831, Terán and George Fisher arrived at Anahuac to reestablish the custom-house, which had been located at Galveston.¹ During the interval of its suspension, George Fisher's correspondence shows him to have been at Matamoras. After a visit of twelve or fifteen days, Terán left Anahuac and reached Brazos de Santiago in the middle of December, 1831. George Fisher was hardly installed in his office again when he began to cause trouble by his regulations. Stephen F. Austin wrote to Terán, February 5, 1832, from the mouth of the Trinity River while on his return from a visit to Colonel Bradburn, a letter in which, while he reported that all was then tranquil, he complained of the troubles caused by a very impracticable rule made by Fisher on November 24, 1831, in regard to the commerce in the river Brazos. Austin thought that the trouble could have been avoided if, instead of this measure, Fisher had made provision for the trade of the Brazos River to be attended to at the mouth of the river, until the custom-house on Galveston Island should be reestablished. He asked Terán for "the removal of Fisher from the office of administrator of Galveston."²

Bradburn's administration of the customs soon developed into an absolute tyranny, which began with an order, in the fall of 1831, closing all the ports of Texas except Galveston. December 16, 1831, a meeting of citizens was held at Brazoria to consider the conduct of the Mexican government and to ascertain public sentiment in the colony relating to the order.³ The committee was persistent and Bradburn was forced to grant its request.

A few days later, Bradburn proclaimed "the whole country, lying within ten leagues of the coast, to be under *martial law*, and threatened the civil authorities with exemplary punishment if they should dare to assert a rival jurisdiction."⁴

In the meantime the law closing the ports had been resisted by force at Velasco. At this time there were several vessels, the Nelson, the Williams, the Ticson,⁵ and the Sabine, engaged in

¹Stephen F. Austin to James F. Perry, Nov. 15, 1831. Austin Papers.

²Stephen F. Austin to Terán, Feb. 5, 1832. Austin Papers.

³Yoakum, *History of Texas*, 281-282; Foote, *Texas and the Texans*, II 13.

⁴Foote, *Texas and the Texans*, II 15-16.

⁵This name is given by Filisola. It is probably a corruption of Texan—
EDITOR QUARTERLY.

trade between Velasco and New Orleans. The Mexican authorities had not been very strict in collecting duties at Velasco, but learning that the trade was becoming very profitable the commander at Fort Velasco sent word to the captain of the Sabine, Jerry Brown, that he must pay a certain duty and get permission from the commander at Anahuac before his vessel could leave.¹ As there was no easy means of communicating with Anahuac except by water, and the schooner was now prohibited from sailing, its owner, Edwin Waller, went to the commander and offered to pay a duty of fifty dollars, but this was refused, and the sum of one hundred dollars demanded. Waller declined to pay this amount and withdrew. He persuaded Captain Brown to "run the blockade," and with the assistance of William H. Wharton the vessel was untied and started down the river on the 15th of December, 1831. It was fired on by the Mexican guards, but was well protected with bales of cotton and escaped all injury except in its rigging. Another vessel lying farther up the river followed the example of the Sabine. Wharton and Waller were arrested, but through the influence of the former they escaped punishment.² The captain of the Sabine was instructed to buy two cannon with the proceeds from the sale of his cargo and return with them to Velasco.

The receiver at Velasco reported to Terán that the merchants testified that these offenses were due to the hardships imposed on the captains of the vessels and on the trade, since they had to unload at the mouth of the river, where there was no building to shelter the goods from the weather, and after that to go as far as Anahuac, thirty leagues distant, to present their reports.³ The receiver's office was therefore transferred from Velasco to Brazoria and the Ensign Juan Pacho was sent to take charge of it. He arrived on the night of the 22d of January, 1832. His attention was attracted by a crowd of excited colonists on the shore, and he sent an orderly to investigate the cause of the disturbance. As the soldier refused to answer their questions the mob knocked him

¹Filisola, I 179.

²THE QUARTERLY, IV 34-36.

³Filisola, I 186.

down. This incident so frightened Pacho that he fled to the interior to a place of safety.¹

While things were in this condition, the schooner Sabine returned with the two cannon on board and cast anchor at Brazoria, January 39, 1832.

When Terán heard of the departure of the Sabine, in defiance of the Mexican authorities, he dispatched Col. Domingo Ugartechea to act as second in command to Bradburn and to go with troops and public employees to establish a custom-house at the mouth of the Brazos River. As soon as Colonel Ugartechea reached Anahuac with the troops furnished him by Terán to reinforce that place, he was sent by Bradburn on April 2, 1832, with one hundred and ten men and an eight pounder, to establish a fort at the mouth of the Brazos. Bradburn had previously received a reinforcement of one hundred and thirteen men under Añorga, on February 27, 1832.*

A letter from Samuel Williams to Stephen F. Austin, dated April 12, 1832, contains an interesting report from the custom-house at Anahuac, which runs as follows:† "It is to be observed that although the account that was received bearing the date of the 31st of last December includes all the amount that I have collected, nevertheless there must be in the hands of the officers of the federation, other amounts that belong to the State. Their collection is difficult to make on account of the great distance from this villa to Anahuac where the administrator of the custom-house of Galveston is. The net total from the funds in my power belonging to this department is as is shown by the account, 315 *pesos*, 7 *reales*, 11 *granos*, of which account you may dispose according as it seems best to you."

On the 19th of June, 1832, Stephen F. Austin wrote to D. Domingo Ugartechea from Matamoras, claiming that some indulgence ought to be shown at the custom-house in allowing necessities to pass free, on account of the newness of the country and its small resources. He said that the new law had extended the time for free introduction of some things, but said nothing about iron

¹Filisola, I 186.

[†]Ibid. I 173.

*Translation.

tools, iron, steel, and coarse bagging for cotton. Thus it had been put in the power of the custom-house officials to make or mar the country.

A few words should be said in regard to the character of the troops and officers stationed in Texas.

Bradburn¹ was said to be naturally of an overbearing disposition. The odium which he had incurred from the colonists and soldiers led Piedras to believe that the troubles at Anahuac to be detailed further on were personal matters.² His unwise and tyrannical measures soon brought Texas, as well as himself, into trouble.

The Mexican law of September 29, 1826, provided for the enlistment of convicts as soldiers, and a large number of the soldiers sent to the garrisons of Texas were of this character. On one occasion, an emigrant at Anahuac so violently wounded his wife in a fit of passion, that she died a few days later. He fled but was captured. He was afterwards offered a reprieve provided he would enlist in the Mexican army, and he consented. One of the soldiers at Anahuac was notorious for having killed not less than eleven persons.³ But in spite of their criminal character, these soldiers were abject cowards.

The Mexican officers varied greatly in their sympathies and conduct towards the Texans. Some of them were exiles on account of their political views. Mexico was in a turmoil at this time owing to the contest between Santa Anna and Bustamante. In February, 1832, Terán sent the four leaders of a revolt in Mata-

¹Colonel Bradburn was a Kentuckian in the Mexican service. He accompanied General Mina on his ill-fated expedition to Soto La Marina in 1817. (Foote, *Texas and the Texans*, 14.) Some act of daring in the battle of Igula secured his promotion in the Mexican army. In the early part of 1830 he was sent out by the Mexican government to New Orleans, very likely for the purpose of ascertaining the object of the United States in establishing a post on the Sabine River and learning something of the views entertained by the colonists. On his return he reported that the troops were stationed near the frontier to prevent smuggling and that the colonists were quiet and well disposed except some new comers and idle, disorderly young men, and that no measure was necessary except to support Colonel Austin with sufficient authority to control this class of people. In a short time after his return he was ordered to Galveston. (See letter of Henry Austin to Stephen F. Austin, July 2, 1830, in the Austin Papers).

²Report of Piedras to Terán, July 12, 1832. Nacogdoches Archives.

³A *Visit to Texas*, 82-84.

moras which he had quelled to different points in Texas.¹ Such men as these, because of their liberal tendencies, must have felt rather sympathetic towards the Anglo-Americans. In their dealings with the colonists, Piedras and Ugartechea were courteous, considerate, and full of tact.² Ramón Musquiz, political chief at Bexar, was a friend much respected by the colonists. General Terán, however, made himself very unpopular among them by his arbitrary acts.³

Another cause of friction lay in the fact that the suspicion of the Mexicans was aroused by rumors from New York and New Orleans which were brought to the officials that the colonists were only waiting for a pretext for open revolt against the Mexican government. Reports were received that toasts were being offered in New Orleans to the independence of Texas. There was also a large increase in immigration in December, 1831, and in the spring of 1832. In the early part of 1832 this suspicion led Terán to order that the two cannon which he knew were in the possession of private parties in Brazoria be brought and placed in the battery at the mouth of the Brazos or taken to Anahuac.⁴ His object, of course, was to get them out of the hands of the colonists. As later events show, the order was never carried out.

To make things worse, Bradburn, at various times, arbitrarily arrested certain colonists who expressed their views of his conduct.⁵

Among the immigrants who settled in Anahuac in the spring of 1832 were William B. Travis and Patrick C. Jack. They came in order to learn Spanish and to practice law. On May 1, 1832, a meeting was held at Anahuac and arrangements made to organize a company ostensibly for protection against the Indians, but really to resist the arbitrary exactions of Bradburn. Patrick C. Jack was elected captain. When Bradburn heard of these pro-

¹Filisola, I 176-177.

²*Old Times in Texas*, by Guy M. Bryan in the *Fort Worth Gazette* for Dec. 25, 1889.

³Henry Austin to Stephen F. Austin, July 2, 1830. Austin Papers.

⁴Filisola, I 178.

⁵Stephen F. Austin to José Mariano Guerra, July 10, 1832; report of *ayuntamiento* of San Felipe de Austin, July 26, 1832. Nacogdoches Archives.

ceedings he arrested Jack, but before long released him, and Jack then resumed his command.¹

It seems that there were seven citizens thrown into jail by Bradburn later in May, and that an attempt was made to arrest George M. Patrick and James Linsley, who, however, succeeded in escaping to Austin's colony.² Among those actually arrested were William B. Travis, Patrick C. Jack, Monroe Edwards, and Samuel T. Adams.³

As to the cause of the arrests, the evidence is so conflicting that it seems better to present both sides. The Mexican account is as follows: In the early part of May, 1832, some of Bradburn's convicts made an attack upon a woman,⁴ and an American living in the neighborhood failed to respond to her cries and come to her assistance. Bradburn refused to punish the convict soldier on the demands of the colonists. They therefore gathered in a mob and seized the American. He was tarred and feathered and driven through the town with so much noise that a lieutenant, accompanied by a corporal and four men, came out from the post to ascertain the cause of the disturbance. The soldiers were driven off with blows and pistol shots; but on the appearance of a larger force the mob abandoned their victim and dispersed. Travis, Jack, and two others who took part in the affair were seized and thrown in prison. Some of the official reports mention that in all there were five colonists in prison.⁵

Dr. N. D. Labadie gives an entirely different account of the arrest of Travis and his companions. According to his version of the story, Bradburn offered freedom to all the slaves who presented themselves to him. In consequence of this offer three runaway slaves from Louisiana claimed his protection. When William M. Logan, the owner of the slaves, demanded them, Bradburn refused to turn them over to him unless he presented proof of his owner-

¹*Texas Almanac*, 1859, p. 30; Stephen F. Austin to José M. Guerro, July 10, 1832. Nacogdoches Archives.

²Proceedings of the *ayuntamiento* of San Felipe, July 26, 1832. Nacogdoches Archives.

³Yoakum, *History of Texas*, I 291; *Texas Almanac*, 1859, pp. 36-40.

⁴Filisola, I 189; Foote, *Texas and the Texans*, II 20-23.

⁵Ramón Musquiz to Col. Antonio Elosua, June 19, 1832; Ramón Musquiz to Governor of State, June 18, 1832. Nacogdoches Archives.

ship. Logan went back to Louisiana to obtain the necessary evidence, and in a short time presented himself again to Bradburn, who made an appointment on the following day for an examination of the documents. At the proper time Logan appeared, but Bradburn said that the three negroes had asked for the protection of the Mexican flag, and therefore he refused to surrender them. One dark rainy night, soon after this, a tall man wrapped in a cloak appeared before a sentinel and handed him a letter, directed to Bradburn. The letter was signed "Billev." It contained a friendly warning "that a magistrate on the Sabine was organizing a company of one hundred men to cross the river" and forcibly take the three negroes. This letter alarmed Bradburn and caused a great commotion in the Mexican garrison. Scouts were sent out in every direction, but after a week's absence they returned and reported that they had discovered nothing. Bradburn believed that this was a trick played on him by Travis. A few days after this occurrence a guard of soldiers appeared at the office of Travis and Jack and arrested both.¹

Sometime after these arrests, an anonymous letter was discovered in a bundle of the prisoners' clothes as they were being sent out to wash. The letter was addressed to "O. P. Q." Labadie says it was a notice "to have a horse in readiness at a certain hour on Thursday night." In a letter to Bradburn, Juan María Pacho, speaking of the letter, says, "*in this they invite the men of Austin's colony to come to rescue them from the clutches of thirty convict soldiers under sentence who guard this point.*"²

This letter caused Bradburn some uneasiness about the safety of the prisoners. For better security an old brick kiln was repaired and furnished with a cannon, and the prisoners were confined in it. There was great excitement throughout the colony. Judge William H. Jack came over to Anahuac to intercede for his brother and Travis, but Bradburn refused to turn the prisoners over to the civil authorities to be tried. When Judge Jack went away he promised to return soon with assistance. In the meantime it seems that the case of Patrick Jack and Travis was being tried at Anahuac by military law. In a report, "Juan María Pacho, prosecutor," in the

¹*Texas Almanac*, 1859, pp. 31-32.

²Francisco Medina to Elosua, June 25, 1832. Nacogdoches Archives.

case of Patrick C. Jack, Travis, and others, on the 10th of May, says, "the case which I represent against Travis, Jack and associates, plainly reveals that either an expedition of adventurers from North America is upon us, or the two individuals referred to have a private plan to separate this territory from the supreme authority of the State and federation. I am still making investigations into the matter." Pacho advises Bradburn to communicate this state of affairs to the general commandant in order that he might do what he could to reinforce that point. On the 25th of May Bradburn sent Pacho's letter to Terán, and on June 25, 1832, he sent a copy of it to Francisco Medina in his petition for aid.¹

When William H. Jack returned home, to San Felipe, he appealed to the people of Austin's colony. They adopted the plan of sending committees to all parts of the colony to stir up the colonists to resist the tyranny of Bradburn. Col. William Pettus and William H. Jack went to the settlements of Fort Bend, Brazoria, etc.; Robert M. Williamson was sent to the settlements of Mill Creek, Cole's and Washington; and Benj. Tennell and Francis W. Johnson went to the settlements on Spring Creek, Buffalo Bayou, San Jacinto, and Trinity River.²

The colonists soon began to gather and organize at Minchey's, near Liberty. Francis W. Johnson was elected first, Warren D. C. Hall second, and Thomas H. Bradley third in command. William H. Jack succeeded in collecting about ninety men in Brazoria, including John Austin, Capt. Wily Martin, Henry S. Brown, W. J. Russell, Geo. B. McKinstry, and others. On the fourth of June this force set out from Brazoria under the command of John Austin.³

When they passed by Velasco, Ugartechea came out and tried to dissuade them from their bold undertaking.⁴ Then Austin agreed

¹Francisco Medina to Elosua, June 25, 1832. Nacogdoches Archives.

²*Texas Almanac*, 1859, 36-40.

³John Austin was a native of Connecticut. When a boy, he ran away from home and went to sea as a common sailor. On one of his voyages, he entered a port of Mexico and found his way to the capital. There he met Stephen F. Austin and came to Texas with him (Edward, *History of Texas*, 185).

⁴Kilisola, I 190.

to ask for the release of the prisoners in "terms of a petition and friendship."¹ At the request of John Austin, Ugartechea also wrote a petition for their release and sent his adjutant, D. N. Dominguez, with Austin. A force of forty men joined Austin from the neighborhood of Liberty.² Forces continued to arrive through the whole of June.

On the 9th of June, 1832, Bradburn learned of the proximity of these troops.³ The forces took up their march from Liberty towards Turtle Bayou with an advance guard of sixteen men under Robert M. Williamson. When they had marched about half the distance they came upon a reconnoitering force of eighteen Mexican soldiers under Lieutenant Nieto.⁴ Miguel Arciniega reported to Ramón Musquiz that on their way to Anahuac the Americans captured five soldiers and an American, who they said was the confidant of Bradburn.⁵ The party was surprised and captured at La Verdura by the colonists without a shot.

The Texans marched on with their prisoners and encamped on Turtle Bayou at White's crossing. Next day, June 10, at 8 o'clock a. m., they continued their march to Anahuac, which they reached the same morning. A committee composed of Austin, G. B. McKinstry, H. B. Johnson, H. K. Lewis, and Francis W. Johnson was appointed to visit Bradburn. As the force of the Texans was constantly increasing by late arrivals, it is difficult to learn the exact number that reached Anahuac. June 19, 1832, the commandant of Fort Terán, Gavino Arango, reported to Col. José de las Piedras that a soldier, Julio Esparsa, had just arrived from Anahuac with information in regard to the revolt in that quarter. He added that he had sent this same Esparsa to Piedras so that he might question him in regard to the events in Anahuac. Piedras seems to have gained the desired information from Esparsa, for in a letter to Col. Antonio Elosua he says: "The annexed copy will notify you of the letter that the commandant of the military detachment of Terán

¹Filisola, I 190.

²*Texas Almanac*, 1859, pp. 36-40.

³Filisola, I 191.

⁴*Texas Almanac*, 1859, pp. 36-40.

⁵Miguel Arciniega to Ramón Musquiz, June 17, 1832. Nacogdoches Archives.

gave me. The bearer of the memorial which pertained to the affair of Anahuac, has shown me that he has been detained on seeking to enter said place by a party of about one hundred and sixty Americans who were besieging it."¹

All the accounts agree in the main in regard to the attack and the parleys with Bradburn. John Austin took by far the most important part in these troubles; indeed, the Mexican authorities claim that he was captain of the Texans.²

When the committee visited Bradburn, Austin presented the recommendation of Ugartechea. Bradburn made various evasive replies—that Colonel Subarán, who had arrived a day or so previous on the schooner *Martha* from Matamoras, was commander of the garrison,³ and that he had to put the question to a vote of his officers.⁴ The question was put to the officers, and their answer was that the prisoners ought to be tried "by military jurisdiction according to article 26 and various others of title 10 subject 8 of the general laws of the army, and that they ought not to be given up on any account. The Texans withdrew and quietly occupied the plaza called *La Malinche*, and the Mexican soldiers retired to the fort."⁵ Bradburn ordered the colonists to leave the settlement and make their demands from without. Another committee waited on Bradburn, but to the same demands they received the same reply. The committee retired, and a light skirmish was kept up between the troops all that day and the following.

On the 11th of June John A. Williams, for the colonists, solicited an interview with Subarán. This was granted by Bradburn, and a committee composed of Subarán, Juan Cortina, Juan María Pacho, and Juan Hurtado met with him. It was agreed that the Texans were to deliver up the Mexican prisoners in their possession and retire six mile from Anahuac, and, on the other hand, the Mexicans agreed to surrender their prisoners in twenty hours after

¹Report of Piedras to Elosua, June 19, 1832; report of Piedras to Terán, July 12, 1832; Francisco Ruiz to Elosua, June 25, 1832. Nacogdoches Archives.

²Filisola, I 190; Arciniega to Ramón Musquiz, June 17, 1832. Nacogdoches Archives.

³*Texas Almanac*, 1859, p. 38.

⁴Filisola, I 192.

⁵*Ibid.*

the Texans left Anahuac.¹ The colonists refused to keep the agreement made by Williams, and on the 12th they demanded another meeting of commissioners, which Bradburn granted. To this meeting he sent the same committee that served before, but the colonists sent John Austin, Hugh B. Johnson, Wily Martin, and others. The same terms were agreed on as before, and the Mexican soldiers were turned over to Bradburn. The colonists then marched to Turtle Bayou to wait for the prisoners and commissioners to return. A small party of the Texans, fifteen to thirty in number, who lived in Anahuac, remained there with the commissioners.²

During the night Bradburn prepared to defend himself by taking possession of a large quantity of ammunition that was stored in the town, and by sending couriers to every military post in Texas for assistance.³ The general commandant, José Mariano Guerro, had given orders, on May 31, 1832, to Piedras at Nacogdoches to proceed at once to Anahuac and adopt measures to put an end to the disturbances at that place.⁴ In a letter dated Bexar, June 19, 1832, Ramón Musquiz says that "In answer to entreaties and on account of the condition of affairs his presence is necessary, and that by the next day at 12 o'clock he will set out with an escort of ten men in charge of an officer, a secretary, and a clerk to go as far as Anahuac if necessary." Another letter from him⁵ dated Villa de Austin (San Felipe), June 26, 1832, states that he started from Bexar on the 20th of June and arrived at Villa de Austin on the 24th day of June. He immediately began to collect information concerning the trouble at Anahuac.

Francisco Ruiz, in command at Tenoxtitlan, reported to Elosua on the 23d day of June, that he received a letter from Piedras on the 19th of June saying that he intended to start that day for Anahuac and he hoped soon to receive aid from Tenoxtitlan. Ruiz wrote that it was impossible for him to give assistance owing to a practice that was resorted to by commanders on the frontier of allowing all who could, among the troops, to go out in the country

¹Arciniega to Ramón Musquiz, June 17, 1832; *Texas Almanac*, 1859, p. 38.

²*Texas Almanac*, 1859, p. 39.

³*Texas Almanac*, 1859, p. 39; Arciniega to Ramón Musquiz, June 17, 1832.

⁴Filisola, I 190, 212.

⁵Both letters are in the Nacogdoches Archives.

and seek means of livelihood. This was done because of the scant provision made for the frontier troops. He said that he allowed eighteen men to go out on the 12th day of June, and, as they had not returned, he was almost defenseless.¹ On the 20th of June Ruiz received an order from Guerro to send at once twenty-five men and an officer to Brazoria to reinforce Ugartechea. Ruiz reported his absolute inability to comply with the order.² June 25 Bradburn called on Francisco Medina at Nacogdoches for assistance. Medina was unable to help him, and sent the letter to Elosua. Piedras wrote to Elosua for assistance on the eve of his departure for Anahuac.³ According to a report made by Angel Navarro of the troops located at Bexar, Dec. 31, 1832,⁴ the whole force at that point amounted to only eighty-eight men.

The most contrary accounts exist in regard to the forces that Col. Davis Bradburn had available. The American historians estimate the number at one hundred and fifty. Bradburn himself said he was reduced to eighty soldiers after reinforcing Ugartechea.⁵ Filisola⁶ estimates the garrison at forty-one. A pay roll in the Bexar Archives shows the force to have been one hundred and sixty-two soldiers and four officers, May 31, 1832. Another of May 3, 1832, gives a total of one hundred and sixty-two soldiers and three officers.

The morning after the withdrawal of the colonists to Turtle Bayou, when Bradburn had secured himself and sent for aid, the men of the garrison in Anahuac noticed that some of the houses remained closed up unusually long.⁷ They suspected the colonists of breaking the agreement. Bradburn sent word to Austin "that it was already time, that he was well fortified, and that he might come and receive the prisoners."⁸ Preparations were then made for

¹Ruiz to Elosua, June 25, 1832. Nacogdoches Archives.

²Ruiz to Guerro, July 3, 1832. Bexar Archives.

³The two letters last mentioned are in the Nacogdoches Archives.

⁴In the Bexar Archives.

⁵Medina to Elosua, June 25, 1832. Nacogdoches Archives.

⁶I 193.

⁷Filisola, I 196.

⁸Arciniega to Ramón Musquiz, June 17, 1832. Nacogdoches Archives.

an attack on the Texans. Lieutenant Colonel Subarán was to make a sally with a force of about forty-five men carrying a four pound gun.¹

On receiving the notice from Bradburn that he did not intend keeping the agreement, Austin reported it to the small party who remained with the commissioners. An express was sent at once to the main body of the troops, encamped on Turtle Bayou. In the meantime the Mexicans advanced and a short engagement took place in which five Mexican soldiers and one American were killed.² As soon as the messenger arrived at Turtle Bayou to report Bradburn's perfidy, the company set out immediately for Anahuac to reinforce the party with the commissioners.³ Soon after leaving their camp, they met the party from Anahuac. The whole force then returned to Turtle Bayou in order to enlist reinforcements and to formulate some plan of action.⁴

While the colonists were reassembled at Turtle Bayou, a meeting was held and their grievances considered. Reports had already reached them of the revolution in progress in Mexico, and of the pronunciamiento in favor of Santa Anna and the constitution of 1824. A committee was appointed "to draw up a preamble and resolutions declaratory of the wrongs and abuses committed by the chief magistrate of the nations and his minions of the army; and also of the determination of Texas to repel further aggressions by the military, and to maintain their rights under the constitution of 1824." The resolutions were unanimously adopted, June 13, 1832. They are as follows:

"Resolved, That we view with feelings of deepest regret, the manner in which the government of the republic of Mexico is administered by the present dynasty; the repeated violations of the constitution; the total disregard of the law; the entire prostration of

¹Filisola, I 197.

²Arciniega to Ramón Musquiz, June 17, 1832. Nacogdoches Archives. Harry Moore wrote to James F. Perry on his return from Brazoria, where he saw John Austin, and said that Austin learned that "at the time the Americans were before Anahuac there were four Mexicans killed and four wounded." (H. Moore to James F. Perry, Aug. 5, 1832. Austin Papers).

³Arciniega to Ramón Musquiz, June 17, 1832. Nacogdoches Archives.

⁴*Texas Almanac*, 1859, p. 39.

⁵*Ibid.*

the civil authority and the substitution in its stead of a military despotism, are grievances of such a character as to arouse the feelings of every freeman, and impel him to resistance.

"*Resolved*, That we view with feelings of deepest interest and solicitude, the firm and manly resistance which is made by the highly talented and distinguished chieftain, Gen. Santa Anna, to the numberless encroachments and infractions which have been made by the present administration upon the constitution and laws of our adopted and beloved country.

"*Resolved*, That as *freemen* devoted to a correct interpretation and enforcement of the constitution and laws, according to their true spirit, we pledge our lives and fortunes in support of the same, and of the distinguished leader, who is now so gallantly fighting in defense of civil liberty.

"*Resolved*, That the people of Texas be invited to co-operate with us in support of the principles incorporated in the foregoing resolutions."¹

It was then decided that John Austin, George B. McKinstry, Henry S. Brown, Wm. J. Russell and others should go to Brazoria for men and three cannon that were in the hands of private citizens living in Brazoria. Col. Wm. Pettus and Robert M. Williamson were sent to San Felipe to collect men. The colonists were joined by Capt. Abner Kuykendall from Austin's colony with from forty to sixty men.² Parties were arriving daily.³ Another attack was not to be made until the arrival of the cannon from Brazoria.

A meeting of citizens was held at Brazoria to decide whether they should take part in the war against the Mexicans. After much debate upon the subject, the matter was left in the hands of a committee: Edwin Waller, W. J. Russell, Thomas Westall, J. W. Cloud, and P. D. McNeil. Although there was some disagreement, the committee at last reported a unanimous vote for war.⁴ Forces

¹Holley, *Texas* (1833), 150-151.

²*Texas Almanac*, 1859, p. 39.

³T. J. Pilgrim to Samuel M. Williams, June 30, 1830. Nacogdoches Archives.

⁴THE QUARTERLY, IV 36. This was not the first time that a plan for an attack on Velasco had been offered to the colonists of Brazoria. At a meeting on May 11th, 1832, such a motion was made and lost by only one vote. Foote, *Texas and the Texans*, II 19.

were rapidly gathered and placed under the command of John Austin. In the following letter John Austin acknowledges the offer of a kind service by Father Muldoon, an Irish priest, very popular among the early Texans:

"Rev. M. Muldoon.

"MY DEAR SIR:

"In answer to your note of this date offering yourself as a hostage for the liberty, etc., of the persons imprisoned at Anahuac, I have only to say that it is not in my power at this time to prevent the march of the citizens, they have declared in favor of the constitution and General Santa Anna and I consider all opposed to said declaration as enemies to their cause, but I assure you so long as I may have any influence there shall be no injury done to any private individual, either to their person or property, and beg leave to assure you that wherever you may be, you will always have a warm friend and protector, as far as his abilities may extend, in your

devoted parishoner,

JOHN AUSTIN."

"Brazoria, June 21, 1832."¹

The colonists started from Brazoria one hundred and twenty strong to attack Ugartechea at Velasco.² The number who attacked Velasco is put at one hundred and fifty by Ramón Musquiz and this number is accepted by the *ayuntamiento* of San Felipe de Austin in a communication to Musquiz, June 30, 1832. The Mexican force under Ugartechea was composed of ninety-one men.³

Father Muldoon made another effort to prevent bloodshed. While visiting Ugartechea on private business he tried to make an adjustment of the difficulties, but failed.⁴

On the 3d of June, four of the revolutionists appeared at the fort and called on Ugartechea to proclaim his adhesion to the plan of Vera Cruz, and to allow the Brazoria with the cannon from the town of that name to pass. The Brazoria had been dislodged from a

¹See Diplomatic Correspondence, Department of State.

²THE QUARTERLY, IV 36.

³Ramón Musquiz to Captain Ortega, July 2, 1832. Nacogdoches Archives

⁴Brown, *History of Texas*, I 182.

sand-bank in the Brazos River a few miles above its mouth, and floated down in the charge of Capt. William J. Russell and forty colonists. Ugartechea of course refused the demand of the colonists, knowing that the force intended to attack Anahuac. During the next few days the revolutionists were arriving and making ready for an attack. On the night of the 26th of June, the schooner was seen approaching the fort under full sail. At the same time the revolutionists approached by land.¹ The attack was made a little before midnight of the same day. Austin's force advanced in three divisions from three different directions. An incessant fire was kept up on both sides until half an hour after sunrise on the 27th. One of the hardest showers that had ever been experienced in that neighborhood put a stop to the fighting, and the colonists were compelled to retreat. The schooner *Brazoria*, however, remained in position, about one hundred and fifty yards from the fort, well supplied with ammunition and ready to renew the attack. In the intermission, James B. Bailly was sent out to raise a reinforcement of fifteen or more men to resume the attack.² Ugartechea spent the interval in replenishing and renovating his scant store of ammunition.

On the 28th a conference was held between Ugartechea and John Austin. The revolutionists then offered that, if Ugartechea would evacuate the fort and surrender his arms, he might set out with his troops wherever he chose, and they would supply the necessary assistance. Ugartechea, however, refused to surrender on any other consideration than that he might retire with all his forces, all their arms, ammunition, and equipments, and with honors of war. The colonists would not agree to let him go without surrendering his arms. The conference broke up, and Ugartechea returned to the fort to prepare to meet another attack. That night a committee waited on Ugartechea at the fort and announced that the colonists had come to an agreement and that another conference would be held the next day.

On the 29th the commissioners appointed by Ugartechea, Lieutenant Moret and Ensign Rincón, met those of the colonists, W. H.

¹Filisola, I 201.

²James B. Bailly to David Shelby, June 27, 1830. Nacogdoches Archives.

Wharton and W. J. Russell, and signed an agreement which was approved by John Austin and Ugartechea.¹ They agreed that,

"First—The garrison will be permitted to march out with all the honours of war, that is to say, with their arms, ammunition and baggage.

"Second—There shall be a vessel made ready for their embarkation to Matamoras, they paying to the captain of the same, 600 dollars for the voyage.

"Third—If the collector, Don Francisco Duclor, should wish to embark, he may do so, the Sargt. Ignatus Lopez, and two soldiers, who remain with the former, shall be suffered to come and incorporate themselves.

"Fourth—All the wounded military of the garrison who can march, shall carry arms, and those who cannot, must remain to be cured, receive good treatment and hospitality, being supplied with food, which will be satisfied by the nation.

"Fifth—The 600 dollars, which the captain of the vessel is to receive, shall be free of duties, and the troops shall be disembarked outside the bar of the Brazos Santiago.

"Sixth—Lieut. Col. citizen Domingo Ugartechea, the two officers who sign, and the ensign Don Emanuel Pintardo, remain by this treaty, obliged not to return to take arms, against the expressed plan above cited—formed under the orders of General Antonia Lopez de Santa Anna, and by the garrison of Vera Cruz.

"Seventh—This day at 11 o'clock in the morning, will be ready, the schooner, Brazoria, in which the garrison of the fort is to embark, but previous to her going to sea, the schooner Elizabeth should arrive at this point, the garrison shall be put on board the latter.

"Eighth—The cannon of eight, and the swivel gun, shall remain at Fort Velasco, with all the public stores, supernumerary guns and ammunition.

"Ninth—All sorts of provisions, after the garrison shall have taken what may be necessary for its march, are to remain in the fort, at the disposal of the owners, given the corresponding promissory notes, that their pay may be satisfactorily made to the captain

¹Filisola, I 208; Holley, *Texas* (1833), 158-159.

of the transporting vessel, who shall carry the power of the owners for the recovery of their import."¹

The *Brazoria* was found to be so badly damaged by the fire from the fort that it could not be readily repaired, nor could another vessel be obtained. Thus the Mexican troops were compelled to go by land to Matamoras.² All the other provisions of the treaty were carried out.

The reports of the battle show that the Mexicans lost five killed and sixteen wounded, while the Americans lost seven killed and fourteen wounded.³ Foote⁴ and Yoakum⁵ say that seven Texans were killed and twenty-seven wounded, while there were thirty-five Mexicans killed and fifteen wounded. The number of killed and wounded on both sides is very much exaggerated by other Texas historians.⁶

While these events were taking place at Velasco, Piedras was advancing to the aid of Bradburn. On the 19th of June, Piedras received an account of the affairs at Anahuac through a messenger from the commander of Fort Terán. Piedras's whole force at Nacogdoches did not exceed three hundred men. As he had received repeated accounts of a rising among the Ayish Bayou colonists to join the insurgents, he hesitated to go to Anahuac. He, however, wrote to Elosua for assistance, telling him of the condition of affairs at Ayish Bayou. At the same time he said, "I am not able to count upon ten dollars in silver for the expenses of this expedition, and I hope that you may procure some aid of this kind for me, without which I shall find myself in danger." He went on to say that he had sent Colonel Bean to enlist the support of the Indians, and that he would set out immediately with two companies of the 12th battalion and some civilians, leaving Medina in command at Nacogdoches.⁷ In a later report⁸ he said that he had started on

¹Holley, *Texas* (1833), 158-159.

²Filisola, I 209.

³Ramón Musquiz to Ortega, July 2, 1832; T. J. Pilgrim to S. M. Williams, June 30, 1832. Nacogdoches Archives.

⁴*Texas and the Texans*, II 22-32.

⁵*History of Texas*, I 295.

⁶Brown, *History of Texas*, I 187; Thrall, *Pictorial History of Texas*, 182.

⁷Piedras to Elosua, June 19, 1832. Nacogdoches Archives.

⁸In the Nacogdoches Archives.

June 19th with sixty infantry and fifty cavalry. He stopped at Fort Terán where he received a reinforcement of cavalry.¹ Here he was informed that the object of the colonists was not only to reclaim the prisoners, but also to have the plan of Vera Cruz adopted.² He marched on to "Chere's House," where an advance of twenty colonists had been stationed, but they withdrew on his approach. A little beyond this place he stopped for a time in order that he might not be too far from Nacogdoches to give assistance in case there should be a rising there. He delayed several days to gather information about the object of the colonists in revolting. Having been informed that meetings had been held in the Ayish Bayou settlement, and that fifty men had gone from the Sabine and from Bevil to join the insurgents, and also that there was a gathering of forces at Brazoria to make an attack on Velasco, he began to fear that a similar rising would take place at Nacogdoches, and he was anxious to get home. In order to make some arrangement for the suspension of hostilities, he sent an officer and a civilian to ascertain the wishes of the colonists. He was informed of the grievances due to Bradburn's repeated breaches of faith. The colonists requested an interview with Piedras on the following day. Instead, he sent a commission with an agreement ratified by himself to treat with a similar commission from the colonists. The commissioners agreed upon the treaty which follows:

"Second adjutant D. Gavino Arango, National Ensign Juan Lasarin, and Mr. George Pollitt, as representatives of the citizen Col. José de las Piedras, met at the Atascosito Creek Frank W. Johnson, James Lindsay,³ and Randall Jones elected by the citizens of that district—all empowered to make and agree to some treaty that would put an end to the existing disturbances and free the country from the sad consequences of civil war—and after deliberating they agreed to the following articles:

"1. The prisoners that Colonel Bradburn has at Anahuac, who are not soldiers and on whose account the disturbances have arisen, shall be given up to the jurisdiction of the civil authorities of the villa of Liberty, who shall try them according to the laws of the

¹Communication of *ayuntamiento* of Nacogdoches to political chief, Aug. 14, 1832. Nacogdoches Archives.

²Report of Piedras, July 12, 1832. Nacogdoches Archives.

³Probably identical with "James Linsley" named on p. 280.

country. Colonel Piedras shall appoint a committee to carry out this article.

"2. When the chief of the department shall order the establishment of the *ayuntamiento* of the villa of Liberty, it shall be established from the moment these articles are ratified by Colonel Piedras.

"3. Colonel Piedras shall request Señor Bradburn to surrender the command of Anahuac to an officer whom he may choose from that or another garrison, and in case Bradburn refuses he shall lay before the commandant of the department the causes which the inhabitants have had for being displeased with him; for which purpose Colonel Piedras shall be furnished with an account of the acts of which Bradburn is accused.

"4. The inhabitants are at liberty to present a remonstrance to the superior authorities against said Colonel Bradburn for the injuries which they declare he has caused them, or for the errors he may have committed in the execution of the laws.

"5. The property and business interests which Bradburn has appropriated for the use of the garrison at Anahuac shall be indemnified after having been determined by law.

"6. As soon as these articles are ratified by Señor Piedras, the force of the inhabitants, which has collected, shall disperse to their homes to busy themselves with their private occupations, and none shall continue hostilities.

"7. The *alcalde* of Liberty, or two persons that he may name from the members of his *ayuntamiento*, shall go to Anahuac to receive the prisoners, which the committee of Señor Piedras shall deliver to them.

"And having agreed to the above articles, both committees signed them on the said Atascosito Creek on the 28th day of June, 1832. Gavino Arango, Juan Lasarin, George Pollitt, James Lindsay, Frank W. Johnson, Randall Jones. I ratify these articles this 29th day of June, 1832. José de las Piedras."¹

Piedras's excuse for giving such favorable terms was that it was merely a truce to give time for help to arrive from the interior.

In writing to Ramón Musquiz of the condition of affairs after the treaty of peace, Hugh B. Johnson says: "I have the satisfaction of informing you that your fatherly advice together with the inter-

¹Translation of copy in Nacogdoches Archives.

position of Col. José de las Piedras, has restored peace and tranquillity among the inhabitants, and upon a basis not likely soon again to be disturbed. Colonel Piedras has re-established the *ayuntamiento* of Liberty in the exercise of the functions of three officers. I am now on the eve of going with the Colonel to the garrison of Anahuac for the purpose of receiving the prisoners there detained by the commandant of the post."¹

Piedras proceeded at once to Anahuac accompanied by the *alcalde* and first *regidor* of the *ayuntamiento* of Liberty, which had met on the day previous. They reached Anahuac on July 1, 1832. During the night a party of six men, who belonged to a company of volunteers—tories from the neighborhood who had joined Bradburn—went to a house where the *alcalde*, *regidor*, and William Hardin were spending the night and tried to sieze them. The three succeeded in making their escape through a window.² Piedras had guaranteed the safety of these men when they came with him, and was uneasy lest the affair be misunderstood. A party was sent out to look for them, but only the *alcalde* was found. He returned, but the other two fled to the Texas camp.

The Texan prisoners were turned over to the *alcalde*, who had them placed in confinement in the town of Liberty to await their trial. Very soon after this they were released.³

Piedras sought to collect some evidence in support of the accusations made against Bradburn. In his report, Piedras says, "I acknowledge that wisdom and prudence have not been exercised in that place. I do not find him guilty of as many abuses as are imputed to him, and the only blame that it is possible to attach to him, is that he permitted himself to be guided by a rascally *presidario*, who acted as his secretary and was called Ugarte, a very criminal, wicked, intriguing, and seditious man."⁴ Bradburn relinquished his command, though he remained in the service, and Piedras placed Second Adjutant Juan Cortina in charge, admonishing him to "act with much tact in order to avoid a rupture."⁵ He ordered

¹Hugh B. Johnson to Ramón Musquiz, July 1, 1832. Diplomatic Correspondence, Department of State.

²Report of Piedras, July 12, 1832. Nacogdoches Archives.

³Filisola, I 212.

⁴Report of Piedras, July 12, 1832. Nacogdoches Archives.

⁵Piedras to Bradburn, July 4, 1832. Nacogdoches Archives.

the fortifying of the town to be carried on so that it would be perfectly secure. To Bradburn, Piedras writes:¹ "I ask you only to act prudently in order to prolong the armistice, which I only hold as such without interfering for the present by putting into execution some orders from the general commandant, which tend to increase the indignation, until the government is able to compel the colonists to obey the law and reduce them to the blindest obedience."

In a letter of June 26, 1832,² Ramón Musquiz speaks in the highest terms of the service, during these troubles, of the members of the *ayuntamiento* at Liberty, of Samuel Williams and Thomas J. Chambers, and of José Antonio Navarro, the commissioner, and of José M. Carbajal, the surveyor.

After these arrangements, Piedras set out for Nacogdoches, leaving an order for Subarán to follow him immediately. On his arrival in Nacogdoches, he learned that the Ayish people had held their meeting but did not embark in the revolt, owing to their fear of the Indians.³

An account of the pronunciamiento at Anahuac is given by Cortina in a letter to Piedras,⁴ which I translate as follows: "I have to inform you that at 12 o'clock the 11th inst., [in the month of July] the troops of this garrison revolted, taking up arms and turning them against me and the eleven officials who were trying to check the disorder. According to your direction, I gave up the command at the time to Colonel Davis, and he never succeeded in pacifying the spirit of insubordination of the soldiers who cried: 'Long live General Santana. We do not wish our officers to command us. Sr. Subarán is our commander.' Seeing this, Señor Davis caused Señor Subarán to be acknowledged commander of the force, who had never agreed that the officers they had should command the troop. On the 13th, six of us, officers, left Anahuac in order that we might save ourselves from the clutches of the insubordinate soldiery; for Señor Subarán said that within the limit of two hours he would be unable to answer for the lives of the officers, because the troops did not want them. We presented our-

¹In the letter cited.

²In the Nacogdoches Archives.

³Report of Piedras, July 12, 1832. Nacogdoches Archives.

⁴Nacogdoches Archives.

selves to Alcalde Thomson in Atascosito, and he offered us his protection. The follies committed by Subarán are many, and through the copy that I enclose you of the letter that I have passed on to the said chief, you will ascertain what they are. Colonel Davis also departed on the 14th, no one knows where. The troop of cavalry has gone, under its commandant, to La Bahia, as I am informed. In Anahuac the only forces are the Twelfth and the Tampico, risen in revolt and prepared to leave, with Tampico or Vera Cruz as destination, in the two vessels which they went to San Jacinto to get. I judge it to be necessary that you immediately set out for this post. You may feel assured that the colonists are for order."

Subarán consented for Bradburn to leave on the condition that he would go by water and without the knowledge of the troops. Bradburn found the port blockaded and was forced to go by land. His friends furnished him with a horse and guide. He succeeded in getting away from Anahuac at 8 o'clock on the night of the 13th of July, 1832.¹ It is said that he crossed the Sabine with eight men in pursuit. They came so close upon him that they got his horse, and he was forced to swim the river above the ferry.² On Bradburn's arrival in New Orleans, a vessel was immediately chartered, and he was sent back to Mexico. He afterwards appeared in Texas in the rear-guard of the Mexican invading army of the Revolution.

Subarán wrote to Alcalde Thomson, asking him to secure the officers, Montero, Landavazo, Dominguez, and Añorga, and to surrender them as prisoners. This, Thomson refused to do.

When Colonel Mejía left Brazoria on the night of the 23d of July, he made a short visit to Galveston, reaching that port about the 24th of July. As he passed the bar Subarán and his troop were going on their way to Matamoras. Cortina and his party were left in Anahuac, to depend upon the colonists for subsistence.

Later we hear of Cortina through a report from General Filisola. On his way to Texas, Filisola reached Saltillo March 20, 1833. While he remained there gathering information concerning the condition of affairs in Texas, he received a letter from the governor containing a report from Juan Cortina at Galveston. Cortina said

¹Filisola, I 220.

²Harry Moore to James F. Perry, Aug. 5, 1832. Austin Papers.

that on the 29th of September, 1832, the receiver of the Brazos, Juan Francisco Duclor, and Ensign Ignacio Dominguez, left for New Orleans, because they could not endure the ungovernable disposition of the inhabitants of Brazoria, who refused to pay duties. He reported, that on the night of the 29th of November, the colonists set fire to the military quarters of Hidalgo and the fortifications of the place, destroying part of the foundation and building materials for the fortified house that was being constructed. He concluded by saying: "My stay in this establishment, as well as that of Lieutenant Montero and Aspirante Añorga, is useless, because we have for our whole force only three to command respect as is shown by the statement that I have the honor of forwarding to you. The lack of resources, etc., compels me to send Añorga with these communications to you."¹

A letter from Stephen F. Austin, at Matamoras, May 30, 1833, tells of the plans to re-establish the custom-house at Galveston. He says:

"The General [Filisola] has orders to re-establish the custom-house and the military garrisons, and will proceed to do so, for the purpose of protecting the public revenue, and stopping the scandalous contraband that has been carried on in tobacco from the ports of Texas. I have assured him that he would receive the support of the colonists in sustaining the Revenue Law, and that they would do their full duty faithfully as Mexican citizens. . . . Mr. George Fisher will leave here shortly to enter upon the duties of Collector of Galveston, with only a sufficient number of troops for necessary guards, etc.

"Whatever ideas and opinions may have heretofore existed as to Mr. Fisher, they should now be consigned to oblivion and forgotten. He returns as an officer of the Government, and as such it is the duty of the people to respect and sustain him. I will also observe that I have investigated very minutely all the past transactions in which he was concerned, and have formed the opinion that the excitement which unfortunately grew out of them, was produced by misconceptions and suspicions too hastily entertained, and not from an intention to do wrong or injure any one. I believe there were misconceptions on both sides, and probably as much on one part as on the other. Mr. Fisher will make an useful collector.

¹Filisola, I 300-302.

His knowledge of the English language will give more facilities in his intercourse with the people than could exist with a collector who was unacquainted with that language. I therefore particularly recommend the utmost harmony with him, and that he be sustained in the discharge of his duty by all, regardless of the clamors of a few transient traders who would involve the honest farmer in difficulty with the authorities, if they could increase their profits thereby."¹

¹Brown, *Life of Henry Smith*, 20-21.

THE ALAMO MONUMENT.

C. W. RAINES.

"The government of the State of Texas has never secured or preserved but one memento of the Alamo. A small but finely executed monument was made from the stones of the fortress in 1841 by an artist named Nangle, and after lying long neglected it was purchased by the State. It now stands in the hall of the capitol at Austin; but neither at the Alamo itself, nor at the forgotten grave of its defenders, does any legend or device, like the stones of Thermopylae, remind the stranger of those who died for their country's rights."¹

In the conflagration of the capitol on November 9, 1881, perished wholly or in part the State library and many valuable documents and relics. A fragment only of the Alamo monument was saved from the ruins. Fortunately, however, that fragment has on its sides, unobscured and perfectly legible, all the heroic inscriptions. It is now kept with the historical relics in the State library.

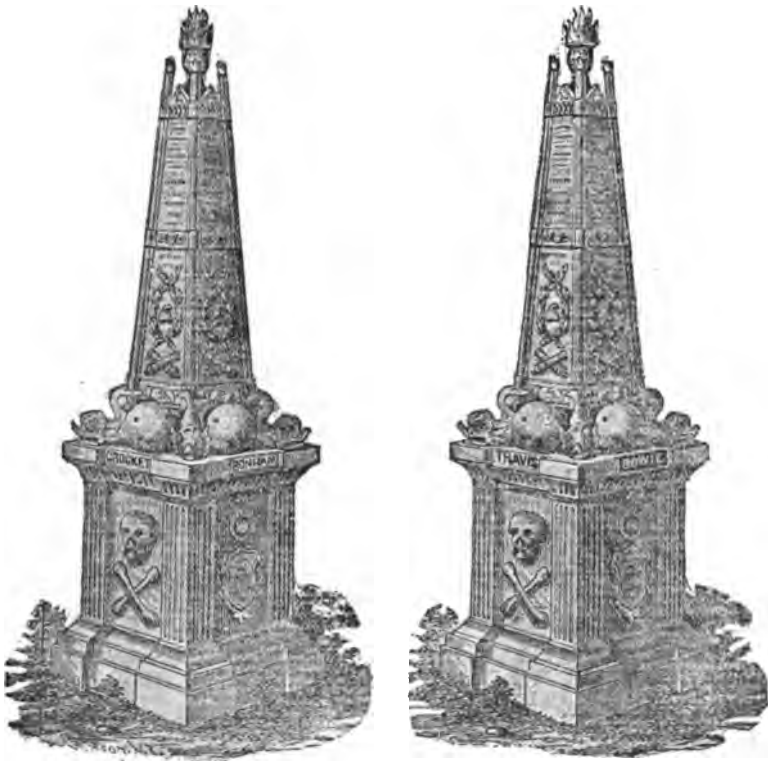
On the evacuation of San Antonio by the Mexicans in May, 1836, the Alamo was dismantled and many of the stones from its walls were scattered over the adjoining plaza, thus affording the material for the monument.

I think it proper to state here, though somewhat anticipating the documentary evidence, that two men wrought in the construction of the monument, one Nangle, a lapidary, and Joseph Cox, a stone-cutter.

On the next page is a reproduction of a lithographic view² of the Alamo monument.

¹R. M. Potter, July 30, 1860, in *Texas Almanac*, 1868.

²Under date of July 7, 1874, at Fort Wood, N. Y., Captain R. M. Potter, in correspondence with William Steele, adjutant general of the State of Texas, relative to the Alamo Monument, said that the owner, to expedite its sale to the State, published a print of the monument fifteen or twenty years before. In another letter from Potter to Steele a few days later was sent a print of a lithograph of the monument with a list of the names of the Alamo dead and a minute description of the monument probably made in San Antonio by Nangle the artist. Mr. Baker may have borrowed this



The following was the list of names inscribed thereon :¹

M. Autry, R. Allen, M. Andress, Ayres, Anderson, W. Blazeby, J. B. Bowman, Baker, S. C. Blair, Blair, Brown, Bowin, Balentine, J. J. Baugh, Burnell, Butler, J. Baker, Burns, Bailey, J. Beard, Bailess, Bourn, R. Cunningham, J. Clark, J. Cane, Cloud, S. Crawford, Cary, W. Cummings, R. Crossan, Cockran, G. W. Cottle, J. Dust, J. Dillard, A. Dickinson, C. Despalier, L. Davell, J. C. Day, J. Dickens, Devault, W. Dearduff, J. Ewing, T. R. Evans, D. Floyd, J. Flanders, W. Fishbaugh, Forsyth, G. Fuga, J. C.

print and description for insertion in his *Texas Scrap Book*, issued in 1875, though he does not say so.

The cut used for this article was made from the print in the *Texas Scrap Book*. The description of the monument with the names thereon was also taken from the same source.

This list is copied from Baker's *Texas Scrap-Book*, 113. It evidently contains many errors, but it is reprinted without any attempt at correction.

Goodrich, J. George, J. Gaston, J. C. Garrett, C. Grimes, Gwyn, J. E. Garwin, Gillmore, Hutchason, S. Hollaway, Harrison, Hieskell, J. Hayes, Horrell, Harria, Hawkins, J. Holland, W. Hersie, Ingram, John, J. Jones, L. Johnson, C. B. Jamison, W. Johnson, T. Jackson, D. Jackson, Jackson, G. Kemble, A. Kent, W. King, Kenney, J. Kenny, Lewis, W. Linn, Wm. Lightfoot, J. Lonly, Lanio, W. Lightfoot, G. W. Lynn, Lewis, W. Mills, Micheson, E. T. Mitchell, E. Melton, McGregor, T. Miller, J. McCoy, E. Morton, R. Mussulman, Millsop, R. B. Moore, W. Marshall, Moore, R. McKenny, McCaferty, J. McGee, G. W. Main, M. Querry, G. Nelson, Nelson, J. Noland, Nelson, Wm. G. Nelson, C. Ostiner, Pelone, C. Parker, N. Pollard, G. Paggan, S. Robinson, Redden-son, N. Rough, Rusk, Robbins, W. Smith, Sears, C. Smith, Stockton, Stewart, A. Smith, J. C. Smith, Sewall, A. Smith, Simpson, R. Star, Starn, N. Sutherland, W. Summers, J. Sumerline, Thompson, Tomlinson, E. Taylor, G. Taylor, J. Taylor, brothers; W. Taylor, Thornton, Thomas, J. M. Thruston, Valentine, Williamson, D. Wilson, Walsh, Washington, W. Wells, C. Wright, R. White, J. Washington, T. Waters, Warnall, J. White, D. Wilson, J. Wilson, A. Wolf, L. J. Wilson, Warner.

The following description of it is taken from Baker's *Texas Scrap Book*, 114:

"This monument is ten feet high, and made from stone taken from the ruins of the Alamo. The style of architecture is the Composite, and is divided into ten sections. The 1st section, or base of the monument, is one solid piece, bearing the whole structure. The 2d section is a square plinth, neatly empaneled. The 3d section is a sub-plinth, with Gothic molding and roped bead, symbolical of binding the whole structure firmly. The 4th section is the *die*, or main body of the monument, consisting of four panels in recess, supported by rude fluted pilasters at each corner. On two of these panels are raised shields, on which are inscribed, in raised letters, the names of every man who fell at the ever-memorable battle of Alamo. Each shield is suspended from a beautiful wreath, in the center of which is a bouquet of flowers. The shields and wreaths sustaining them are encircled by honeysuckles and vines. On the other panels of section 4th is represented the skull and bones crossed. Above the skull are two angels facing each other, blowing trumpets. Below the cross bones are the symbols of Time—the hour-glass, scythe, and wings. Section 5 is a solid cap resting on the main body, projecting with Gothic moldings handsomely carved, representing oak leaves at the corners. On the top of the cap is a square *facia* forming recesses in which is inscribed, in large raised Gothic letters, the names of the gallant spirits who fell at the head of the heroes

of the Alamo. Each name—that of CROCKETT, BONHAM, TRAVIS, and BOWIE—stands out singly in bold relief, on each of the four fronts. From the center of this cap springs the main shaft or spire, and upper structure.

"Section 6 is a Corinthian base, forming four square angles. At each angle is a dolphin, in solid carved work. On each side, in the center, is a bomb-shell of full size, and made of solid stone. Section 7 is the base of the shaft, with raised fluted corners, and rests upon the Corinthian base, supported at the corners by the tails of the dolphins, and at each side by the bomb-shells. In the panels on the base and over the bomb-shells, are raised hands in the grasp of friendship. Section 8 is the 1st division of the shaft, with raised fluted corners and panels in recess. At the base of each panel are cannon crossed in bold relief. Above these cannon, on each panel, is the Cap of Liberty, surrounded by branches of oak and laurel. Immediately above these, in raised letters, is inscribed, on each of the four fronts, MARCH 6th, 1836, the date of the memorable battle. On top of this section of the shaft is a cap, with raised fluted corners and recess panels. In two of these panels stand in relief, the heads of angels with wings. On one of the other panels is, in relief, a heart pierced with two crossed daggers; and on the other panel is a skull with twigs crossed underneath. Section 9 is the second division of the shaft, with the devices in raised Gothic letters, as printed on each side of the wood-cut of the monument above. Section 10 is a cap on top of section 9, forming four Gothic points; and in each, in a recess panel, stands in bold relief THE LONE STAR OF TEXAS. Underneath the stars are raised daggers. In the center of the cap above the stars stands an urn with flame issuing from it; and at each corner of the cap on which the large urn rests, are four smaller urns, out of which also issues flame.

"This monument was made in the Republic of Texas by American artists. Viewing the work as a whole, both as to boldness and appropriateness of design and beauty of execution, it would reflect credit on any artist of ancient or modern times."

The first notice of the monument after its construction in San Antonio to meet my eye is the following from *The Morning Star*,¹ published in the city of Houston:

"MONUMENT OF THE ALAMO.

"Mr. Cox has recently set up the monument of the Alamo in this city for exhibition. It is doubtless the most beautiful and impressive piece of sculpture ever completed in the Republic, and will be found one of the most interesting objects that has even been exhibited in this city. It is formed entirely of stones taken from the walls of the Alamo, which are arranged in the form of a monument, consisting of a pyramid resting upon a square pedestal and ornamented with beautiful and well executed carved work and

¹For July 22, 1843.

appropriate inscriptions. It is impossible, however, to give any description that will give an accurate idea of the work. It must be seen to be appreciated, and we recommend our fellow citizens who are desirous to encourage domestic artists or who feel a single emotion of respect for the martyred heroes of the Alamo, to go and view it in person. It is a relic hallowed by the blood of martyrs, and as we gaze upon its inscriptions we feel that the very stones cry out against the inhuman murderer of our heroic countrymen."

The subjoined card appeared in four successive issues of the same paper, beginning July 25th.

"THE ALAMO MONUMENT.

"The proprietor takes this opportunity of informing the inhabitants of the city of Houston and its vicinity, that in consequence of the present hard times, he has determined on lowering the price of admission to 25 cents.

"JOSEPH COX."

The monument must have come on a wagon from San Antonio to Houston, as that was the only practicable way then for moving heavy freight overland. There is evidence further on to show that Cox with his monument was at Galveston also in 1842 or 1843. Then it is lost to view for eight or nine years.

In *The State Gazette*,¹ published in Austin, we find the following extract from *The New Orleans Crescent*:

"THE ALAMO . . . AN INTERESTING MONUMENT.

"Passing by St. Patrick's yesterday, our attention was attracted to a white, freestone monument, on which are carved many military emblems. On stopping to examine it more carefully, we learned it was intended to be placed over the grave of those who fell at the Alamo. The rock was taken from the walls of the Alamo. It was chiseled on the spot by an English and a German artist who had fought in the battles of Texas and who after the virtual peace which followed the battle of San Jacinto spent several months in this pious labor. It was purchased by the Republic of Texas; but the artist claimed the privilege of exhibiting it in the United States. It was brought here but did not prove attractive. The artists had no money and it was sold for the charges of exhibition. For several years it has been lying among the rubbish of a marble yard. Of course it is valuable only as a local monument. We trust the cit-

¹For April 12, 1851.

izens of San Antonio de Bexar will pay a fair price for it and return it to its proper locality. The monument is of white freestone, composed of a pedestal on which rests an obelisk. On two sides of the pedestal are escutcheons containing the names of the soldiers—while those of Travis, Bowie, Bonham and Crockett are inscribed on the upper lines. The faces of the obelisk have these inscriptions in alto relievo, arranged in the usual urnlike form. Upon the east side of the obelisk is inscribed in raised characters: 'To the God of the Fearless and Free is dedicated this Altar made from the ruins of the Alamo.'

"Upon the south side is the following inscription: 'Thermopylae had her Messenger of Defeat; but the Alamo had none.'

"Upon the west side is the following: 'Be they enrolled with Leonidas in the Host of the Mighty Dead.'

"Upon the north side is the following: 'Blood of Heroes hath stained me; let the Stones of the Alamo speak that their Immolation be not forgotten.'"

The original article in the *Crescent*, which appeared weeks before it was copied into *The State Gazette*, called forth the following letter, also published in the *Crescent*¹ and copied into *The Texas Monument*,² published at La Grange, whence it is taken:

"INTERESTING MONUMENT.

"MESSRS. EDITORS: An article appeared in the *Crescent* of Wednesday, calling the attention of the public to a splendid monument which is to be seen in Camp street near St. Patrick's Church in the yard of a stone-cutter.

"You will not, I presume, take offence at the following questions from one who knew the artist while in Galveston, and who took a deep interest in supplying the wants of his sick and starving family.

"Questions—1. How did the monument get into the stone-cutter's yard in Camp Street? 2. Where has it been since the summer of 1842? 3. What has become of poor Cox, the genius who combined the rare qualities of sculptor, poet, and historian? 4. On what authority is it asserted that the monument was purchased by the Republic of Texas?

(Signed)

"AN INQUIRER."

The next communication is an attempt to answer the above. It is evidently from Captain R. M. Potter as shown by the initials in the signature. Captain Potter is a most painstaking and con-

¹For March 17, 1851.

²For April 23, 1851.

scientious writer, and his statements may be accepted as entirely trustworthy. The letter appeared first in *The New Orleans Crescent*,¹ and was copied into *The Texas Monument*² along with that of "Inquirer":

"From the *N. O. Crescent*, Mar. 28, 1851.

"THE ALAMO MONUMENT.

"The Alamo monument, which is now to be seen in a marble yard, near St. Patrick's Church, seems to be attracting the attention it merits, both on account of the artistic skill of its construction, and the heroic associations with which it is connected; and, as any information touching it may be acceptable, you will, I trust, permit me to correct a wrong impression entertained by our Thursday's correspondent, 'An Inquirer,' as to the name of the artist by whom that monument was made. I passed the summer of 1841 at San Antonio, and found there two men, an artist and a stone-cutter, engaged in manufacturing, from the stones of the Alamo, various small mementos, such as vases, candle-sticks, seals, etc. The artist was a Mr. Nangle, who, as he told me, had formerly been established in Philadelphia as a seal cutter and jeweler; but had left there on an imprudent enterprise, in which he had been plundered and ruined by the man who had induced him to embark in it. Being unwilling to return in poverty to his former associates, he had come to Texas, and, after a few years of campaigning and other occupations, had turned his professional skill to account in the manner above mentioned. His productions were, many of them, executed with rare beauty, the fine work being done by him, and the first roughing out by his companion.

"At the time referred to, a gentleman, then in San Antonio, suggested to Nangle by way of bringing his skill into better notice, the idea of making and presenting to the Government of Texas a miniature monument, of a fit size for a mantle or table ornament, and also suggested inscriptions and devices for it. Nangle acted on the idea, and commenced the small monument, but afterwards adopted a larger and more elaborate plan, which resulted in producing the beautiful work now to be seen in Camp street. Three of the inscriptions, and some of the devices originally suggested were made use of in executing it.

"The artist was probably induced to expend so much labor on it, as he did by the hope that it would be bought by the Republic

¹For March 28, 1851.

²For April 23, 1851.

of Texas; but I never heard there that it was ever purchased, conditionally or otherwise, by that government.

"Mr. Nangle died in Texas, as I understand, at the time, soon after completing the monument, which, after being exhibited there, was brought to this city for exhibition by his partner, the stone-cutter.

"The object of this communication is not to answer your correspondent's queries as to the possession, etc., of the monument, which I know nothing about, but to correct an error as to the identity of the sculptor, whose skill in design or execution ought not to be ascribed to the wrong person, whether the right one be living or dead. Before closing, let me, however, express the earnest wish that steps be taken by those interested to restore this monument to the locality where it properly belongs, and which alone can invest it with the interest to which it is entitled by the names and events it commemorates. Though the Government of Texas was too poor to purchase it in 1841, I have no doubt the needful amount could now soon be raised among the people of that State by subscription, if the matter were properly brought to their attention.—R. M. P."

The fate of the monument is for awhile wrapt in mystery, and we know nothing of its vicissitudes. But four years later *The Texas State Times* of Austin (Col. John S. Ford's paper) has this to say on our subject in its issue of December 8th, 1855:

"ALAMO MONUMENT.

"This work of art, executed in commemoration of the fall of the Alamo, is now standing in the vestibule of the new capitol. The names of many of those fell at this modern Thermopylæ are inscribed on the monument. It is a work of much merit, prompted by a deep sense of patriotism and a profound love of liberty. It is one of those productions which reflect upon the originator a degree of honor highly creditable. As a work upon a national subject—as a vestige of nationality—a memento of one of the proudest achievements of a people struggling for freedom—as a tangible proof of gratitude for the heroes who consecrated that spot with their blood, made the Alamo a battle cry upon other fields, as an heirloom rich in recollections of the past—of the mighty dead—this monument should belong to Texas, it should stand at her capitol to remind all future generations of the services these patriots rendered their country in the dark hour of peril, and that they should ever feel grateful to these martyrs of liberty for the enjoyment of the republican institutions they so nobly aided in rearing in this land 'of love and sunny skies.'"

Meanwhile public sentiment was aroused, and in 1858 the Legislature passed the act, the terms of which are as follows:

AN ACT FOR THE PURCHASE OF THE ALAMO MONUMENT.

Section 1. Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Texas, That the sum of twenty-five hundred dollars be and the same is hereby appropriated out of any money in the Treasury, not otherwise appropriated, for the purchase of the Alamo Monument.

Section 2. That the Governor be and he is hereby authorized and required to draw the above sum from the Treasury, and pay out of the same the sum of one thousand five hundred dollars to the present owners of the Alamo Monument; and the remainder of the appropriation he shall pay to the widow and children of — Nangle, deceased, the sculptor who executed the work. Provided, That for the above consideration, the owners of the Alamo Monument shall transfer all their right and title to the same to the State of Texas.

Section 3. That this Act take effect from its passage.

Approved February 6, 1858.

This precious memento of the heroism of Travis and his band, once domiciled in the capitol, remained unnoticed amid the exciting times of the Civil War, and the unspeakable horrors of Reconstruction. But with the restoration of Democratic rule in 1874 came a revival of patriotic feeling, which made legal holidays of March 2d, Independence Day, and April 21st, San Jacinto Day. Miniature flags of the Republic were everywhere in requisition and on display. Nor were the heroes of the Alamo any longer forgotten. They came in for a share of recognition, as shown by the legislative appropriation of two hundred dollars for the "inscription of the names of those who fell at the Alamo on bronze plates, or other durable material, to be inserted for preservation in Alamo monument in the portico of the Capitol."

A revision of the list of the names of the heroes of the Alamo was now deemed necessary, and Adjutant General William Steele had an extensive correspondence with many prominent men, supposed to be well informed on the subject.

Among these were ex-Governor E. M. Pease, W. P. Zuber, Rufus Grimes, Frank W. Johnson and Captain Reuben M. Potter. Each of these distinguished gentlemen furnished to the Adjutant General of Texas what, in his judgment, was a true list of the Alamo

dead. There was a wide margin of difference in the lists of names submitted. They agreed, however, on one point: that the current lists were all defective. A true list can hardly be expected now, and it may not have been practicable then.

I submit the following extract from Captain Potter's letter of July 10, 1874, to Adjutant General Steele:

"The Alamo Monument was made in 1841, and, as I have understood, the names of the ill-fated garrison was obtained by the artist from Mr. Sutherland, then well known as a member of the Congress of Texas from the lower Colorado. . . .

"As you have alluded to my rumored share in originating this monument, it may not here be amiss to state in what my limited claim to it consists. I suggested the first crude idea of such a memento, made from the stones of the Alamo and furnished some of the inscriptions and devices. In 1841, I found in San Antonio a man named Nangle, a lapidary of unusual skill, then engaged in making from the material above mentioned, for sale, divers small tokens, such as vases and pipes and candlesticks. I advised him to construct a monument of size suitable for decoration of the interior of some public building and offer it for sale to the government of Texas, unless he should prefer to make a present of it by way of advertising his artistic ability. The form I suggested was that of a Roman altar having on the upper entablature of one side, a heart pierced with two crossed faulchions, significant of immolation; on the opposite, a skull with two crossed palm leaves below it; typical of victorious death and on the other two upper fronts, a lone star and a liberty cap, each supported by branches of oak and olive. Those emblems are found on some part of the actual memento. The inscriptions I proposed were: For one side of the main body, the names Travis, Bowie, Crockett, Bonham—and for the other sides, three of the epitaphs which have been adopted. The artist disposed of the four principal names more tastefully on the four fronts of the entablature, and put on the side I had allotted to them, an inscription better than any of mine. "Thermopylae had her messenger of defeat—the Alamo had none." Where he got it,¹ I know not. The expression occurred

¹In December, 1898, in Austin, Col. Guy M. Bryan told me on the authority of Gen. Hugh McLeod that Gen. Thomas Jefferson Green was the author of the inscription beginning "Thermopylae." 'General McLeod informed me' said Col. Bryan, 'that the authorship of the inscription was freely discussed at a banquet in Galveston during the Republic and that it was positively stated without contradiction that General Green dictated the sentiment to Nangle.'—C. W. RAINES.

in some public address of that day, but I cannot say whether the orator borrowed from the monument or the reverse.

"The altar shape is alluded to in one of my inscriptions, which now seems out of place on an ornate obelisk; but a form so simple and stern as that I recommended, though suitable for a massive structure on the scene of slaughter, was less fitting for an inside decoration; and the artist did well to amplify the primitive idea which I gave him.

"I left San Antonio after the monument was begun, and never saw it till it suddenly turned up in New Orleans in, I think, 1852.

"Nangle died soon after he finished it, and his partner took it to the city aforesaid. He too disappeared and the monument after several years of burial among rubbish, was sold for storage and bought for a trifle by a man named Cavanaugh, whom I persuaded to offer it for sale to the State government of Texas. This eventually led to its being placed where it now is."

A few years later, and before a proper list of the names of those who fell in the Alamo could be made out, there perished in the flames, almost entirely, this unique little monument—the priceless memento of the most heroic event in Texas history, or, for that matter, in all history.

REMINISCENCES OF EARLY TEXANS.

A COLLECTION FROM THE AUSTIN PAPERS.

J. H. KUYKENDALL.

II.

4. *Recollections of Barzillai Kuykendall.*

COL. AUSTIN'S ORDER.

CAP. ABNER KUYKENDALL,

The Indians have robbed a large drove of horses from a traveller who stopped at Ratcliff's on [the] Lavaca. They were pursued two days by a few men and overtaken between the Colorado and Brazos below the San Antonio road. The men in pursuit were too few to attack, and retired without being seen. There was one American, or a white man supposed to be an American, with the Indians, and about fifteen Indians. It is highly important that the trail should be followed, so as to ascertain what Indians and white man or men have been so base [as] to commit this depredation, and punish them and also recover the horses. A party of volunteers is ready at Beason's to follow the robbers, and a number will go from here. It is their wish and also mine that you should take the command, and I have sent up Mr. Miller to you for that purpose; and I hope and expect that you will undertake the expedition if your health will permit. I hereby authorize you in the name of the Govt. and of the civil authority whom I have consulted, to take the command of said party of volunteers and to pursue and kill said robbers be them Indians or Whites and to recover the stolen horses and do such other acts as in your judgment may be deemed necessary and equitable and proper to punish the robbers and afford security to our exposed and scattered settlements, by making a severe and striking example which will have the effect to prevent the repetition of similar outrages by the lawless bands who are moving through these unsettled wilds. You will however be cautious of offending innocent persons as you will be responsible for any wanton

cruelty committed by your men while acting by your orders, on the innocent. You will keep a journal of your proceedings and report the same to me on your return. Town of Austin, Augt. 22d. 1829.

STEPHEN F. AUSTIN, Col. of Ma.

Should sickness or other circumstances prevent Cap. Kuykendall from going to take the above command, the volunteers will meet at Beason's on the Colorado and choose their commander. Said choice will be endorsed on this order and also reported to me, and the officer so chosen will take the above official order and be governed by it the same as Cap. Kuykendall is ordered to do, for which purpose he will send it to them by Miller.

S. F. AUSTIN, Col. of Ma.

The above order was received the evening of the same day it was written, and in obedience thereto the ensuing morning, father, accompanied by brother William and myself, started for the Colorado, where we arrived the same evening and were joined by eight men most of whom were old frontiersmen, to wit: Norman Woods, John F. Berry,—Hazlitt, Elijah Ingram, John Williamson, Thomas Thompson, Seaborn Jones, and ————. We now counted eleven men, and father resolved to pursue the Indians without losing further time to increase our force. We forded the Colorado at the crossing of the Labahia road and had proceeded eight or nine miles up the west side of the river, when, about noon, we discovered people moving about an old cabin. As we knew that the inhabitants of this neighborhood had, some time previously been driven from their homes by the Indians, this circumstance excited some surprise, and Hazlitt and another man were dispatched on foot towards the cabin to ascertain the character of its visitors. The rest of us sat in our saddles, concealed by a point of woods.

In order to approach near the house, Hazlitt and his companion had to pass through a corn-field. They had not proceeded far in the field when an Indian shot an arrow at Hazlitt and raising a war whoop, fled towards the cabin. As he ran straight between two rows of corn, Hazlitt shot him in the back. The instant we heard the alarm we galloped forward and saw five Indians on foot, running up the river, evidently aiming to get to a thicket on its bank, two or three hundred yards above the cabin. Spurring our horses to

their best speed, we intercepted them a short distance below the thicket. As we dismounted each man dropped the coil of his tethering rope from the pommel of his saddle and charged the Indians on foot. They were now compelled either to fight us in the open prairie or leap down the precipitous bank of the river. They chose the latter alternative[.] Norman Woods shot one as he was in the act of leaping off the bluff. The remaining four threw away their arms and plunged into the Colorado. As they swam towards the opposite shore we plied them with two or three rounds of rifle balls, and sank two midway the river. The remaining two reached the opposite shore with mortal wounds from which we could distinctly see the blood flowing. One of them uttered a few words in a very loud voice and almost instantly afterwards our ears were assailed with terrific yells from the thicket just above us, accompanied by a flight of arrows and discharge of fire-arms. Turning towards our unexpected assailants, we saw several of them running towards our horses. We also ran in the same direction, and all the Indians, except two, returned to the thicket. These two Indians succeeded in reaching our horses, of which each selected and mounted one and drove all the rest, save two, before them—yelling and firing off their guns to frighten the horses and urge them to greater speed. The two men whose horses were left, mounted them and pursued the Indians, the rest of us following as fast as possible on foot. After travelling nearly a mile and a half, we discovered our horses standing in a grove. Suspecting a *ruse* we approached them with caution, but found no enemy. Having now recovered all our horses but two (those of Thompson and Williamson) we returned to the scene of action; but every Indian had disappeared. The one shot by Woods was still alive, sitting under the bank. Deeming it an act of mercy to put an end to his sufferings, Woods shot him in the head. After collecting the arms of the defeated Indians, consisting of bows and arrows and one or two shot guns, we went into the field to look for the Indian shot by Hazlitt. We did not find him but picked up his belt which had been cut in two by the rifle ball. This satisfied us that he had received a mortal wound. His body was afterwards found outside the field. The remains of the two who reached the opposite side of the river were also found afterwards—making six killed. Not one of our party was hurt, though Berry, after the engagement, fainted from the effect of heat and

over-exertion. There were at least forty or fifty of these Indians—Wacoos and Tawacanies. They were well provided with ropes and bridles and had doubtless come on a stealing expedition. The survivors left the Colorado without committing any depredations.

As we were now reduced to but nine mounted men, two of whose horses were already broken down, father was constrained to forego the pursuit of the thieves who had stolen the *cavallada* and return home. That evening we traveled about five miles on our return and slept at a spring about three miles above the present town of LaGrange.

Immediately after father returned home and reported to Col. Austin, he received the following order.

"You will call a muster of your company and endeavor to raise volunteers to go against the Indians. If you cannot get volunteers enough to make one fourth the number of men composing your company, you will raise them by draft. You will rendezvous at this place with at least one fourth the men composing your company on the 12th September next, armed and equipped as the law directs, with provisions for a campaign of forty days. By order of S. F. Austin[.]

CAPT. ABNER KUYKENDALL.

OLIVER JONES, adjt."

Similar orders were issued to the other captains of Militia in the Colony. The greater part of the required number of men volunteered. The deficiency was supplied by draft. The contingents of the different companies convened on the east side of the Colorado about twelve miles below the present town of LaGrange, between the 15th and 20th September, 1829. The entire force of nearly one hundred mounted men was placed by Austin under the command of my father.¹ Adjutant Jones accompanied the expedition. A Mexican who had resided with the Wacoos and Tawacanies and who professed to be well acquainted with the route to the San Saba river, where the Indians were supposed to be, was employed as a guide. The second night after leaving the place of rendezvous we slept at Alum Creek at the point where it is crossed by the San Antonio road. Thence our guide led us nearly due north until we crossed the river San Gabriel; thence up the north side of that stream to the head of its north branch; thence to the head of what is now known

¹See note 1 at the close of this paper.

as the Salt fork of the Lampazos. Here the expedition encamped and spies were despatched under the guidance of the Mexican, to seek the Indians. The second morning after they left our camp, the spies returned and reported that they had, the preceding night, found a large encampment of Indians on the west bank of the Colorado river two or three miles below the mouth of the San Saba. They approached sufficiently near the Indians to ascertain that they were engaged in a dance, as they could distinctly hear the sound of a sort of castanet which the Indians use on such occasions. It was evident that they were unaware of the approach of our expedition.

A few hours after the return of the spies, the command was again in motion. After travelling a few miles we halted and rested. It was our commander's plan to make a night march and surprise the Indians at daybreak. Accordingly, when the sun had nearly declined to the horizon, we resumed the march. Night soon closed around us. There was no moon but the sky was cloudless and starry. Our route lay over a prairie country, studded with low hills, and in some places very rocky. Hour after hour, the long double files of horsemen followed the guide. There was no confusion in our ranks—rarely was a word spoken, yet our march was far from being noiseless. The hard, metamorphic limestone rang like metal beneath the tread of our horses, and ever and anon we invaded the domain of a community of rattlesnakes, of which we were promptly notified by the rapid vibrations of their rattles. Our guide conducted us towards nearly every point of the compass, and at length, long after midnight, declared he was bewildered and could conduct us no farther until daylight. We were accordingly ordered to halt and rest until morning.

All, now suspected the fidelity of our guide. The preceding night he had conducted our spies straight to the encampment of the Indians, manifesting a perfect acquaintance with the country. Perhaps he was actuated by cowardice, perhaps by revived affection for his *quondam* friends; but whatever his motives, it is highly probable that but for his *conduct* the expedition would have been completely successful. Our commander determined to rely no longer upon his guidance, and early the ensuing morning, six men, *viz.* William Dever, Amos Gates, Seaborn Jones, Jefferson Pryor, another white man, and a Chickasaw Indian named John, were despatched on foot to explore a route to the Colorado river—supposed

to be within two or three miles of our camp,—and search for a ford. They had proceeded about a mile and a half when they discovered twenty five mounted Indians who charged towards them, yelling like demons. Our men ran back towards our camp and when the Indians pressed them too closely, turned and presented their guns and the Indians halted or slackened their pace. This was repeated several times. At length John, the Chickasaw, began to fail and fall in the rear. The Indians could have shot or speared him but seemed intent upon making him prisoner. They ran up by his side and one of them caught him by the hand. At this critical juncture, John's friends again turned and pointed their guns at the pursuers, which enabled John to extricate himself and rejoin his party, who now made a stand in a clump of bushes. Meantime the loud cries of the Indians had been heard at our camp and the whole command was hastening to the rescue. When William Dever perceived that succor was close at hand he shot at one of the Indians and it was believed mortally wounded him. At this moment our whole force came up and the Indians fled at full speed. We pursued them as rapidly as the nature of the ground and a due degree of caution would permit. When we arrived at the Colorado river we forded it at the same place where the Indians had crossed. A low wooded hill encroached on the west side of the river. John Shipman and I were ordered to dismount and proceed on foot in advance of the command. We walked briskly to the top of the hill, and looking down into the smooth, level prairie in a bend of the Colorado beheld it almost literally covered with mounted Indians—men, women and children, flying from their encampment to the yellow-cedar-brakes in the adjacent hills. We hastened back and reported and the command advanced at a gallop. We charged into the camp of the Indians just as the last one mounted his horse to leave it. He was shot down by Holmes Peyton and Seaborn Jones. Nearly all the Indians had by this time gained the covert of the cedar brakes. Detachments were sent a few miles in pursuit, but no Indians were found except a few squaws, who, when overtaken were riding slowly along apparently unconscious of danger or indifferent to it. When spoken to they made no reply. Indeed, neither by look nor gesture did they manifest recognition of our presence. Of course they were not molested.

We encamped upon the ground evacuated by the Indians. Their

conical, buffalo skin lodges were still standing, and within them we found their entire store of winter provisions, namely, several hundreds of bushels of corn and beans, and a quantity of dried buffalo meat. Many buffalo robes were also found and on the fires were still boiling several kettles of corn and beans—all of which property was consigned to the flames or otherwise destroyed. The site of this encampment was very beautiful and had apparently often been temporarily occupied by the Indians; but there were no traces of agricultural operations. Early the ensuing morning Capt. Henry Brown with a company of thirty men from Gonzales, rode into our camp. One of Captain B's men who had traded with the Wacoos and Tawacanies at their villages on the Brazos, recognized the body of the Indian killed the day before, as that of a Tawacanie chief. It is also worthy of remark that the deceased was dressed in a hunting shirt and vest, one of which garments had belonged to William-son and the other to Thompson and were tied to their saddles when the Indians took their horses in the fight in Wood's Prairie on the 25th of August.

This day we commenced our homeward march. When we reached the Salt fork of the Lampazos we had the satisfaction of finding Hazlitt (left there very sick on our upward march) convalescent and able to travel. When he was left behind our commander wished to detail one or two men to remain with him, but Hazlitt would not consent that this should be done—believing that every man might be needed in the anticipated conflict with the Indians. When the expedition reached the San Gabriel, it was disbanded and the men, in small squads, returned to their homes by different routes.

In the month of November 1830, a Chickasaw Indian brought intelligence from the frontier that a party of eleven Wacoos were on their way to the neighborhood in which I resided (22 miles northwest from San Felipe) for the purpose of stealing horses. The approach of the Indians was very soon confirmed by one of my neighbors who had seen them on his return from the up country. He stated that they were on foot and well provided with ropes and bridles. He also learned that at one or two houses where they had called their deportment had been menacing and insulting. The day this news was received a few of the neighbors armed and assembled for the purpose of seeking and attacking the Indians,

who, we learned late in the evening, were camped near the residence of James Stephenson, on Caney creek. As the Indians outnumbered our little party, William Cooper and I rode nearly all night to raise more men. At the dawn of next day, with a force of eleven men, precisely that of the Indians—we stole upon their camp which was a little grove on the bank of a spring branch within less than a hundred yards of Stephenson's house. Favored by a gully and a dense fog we approached within thirty feet of the Indians, (part of whom had not yet risen) before they perceived us, at which moment we delivered our fire. One of the Indians also fired and William Cooper fell, exclaiming that he was shot. The Indians ran and were pursued a short distance by our leader, Adam Lawrence, who reloaded his rifle and fired at them again—but further pursuit was prevented by the fall of young Cooper, who was shot through the heart and expired in a few minutes.

Late in the morning the trail of the Indians was followed as far as the bottom of Caney creek, some five or six hundred yards. Seven red stripes marked their course across the prairie and two or three conically shaped pieces of spongy, rotten wood, with which these Indians are generally provided to plug their wounds, were picked up on their trail, saturated with blood. The carcass of one of the Indians was afterwards found in Caney bottom. Seven of the eleven never reached home as will appear in the sequel. One shot gun, several bows, and arrows, and ropes, and bridles fell into our hands. It was my painful duty to take the news of young Cooper's death to his parents who resided about five miles from the spot where he was killed. Of the eleven men engaged in this affair only the following names are recollected, viz: Adam Lawrence, Thomas Stevens, Adam Kuykendall, Charles Gates, George Robinson, William Cooper, B. Kuykendall.

About a fortnight after the above events, Col. Austin sent father, with six or seven men, of whom I was one, to Tenoxtitlan, then a recently established military post on the Brazos, garrisoned by one or two companies of Mexican regulars under the command of Capt Ruis. The precise object of our mission I have forgotten, but it had reference to the relations of the colonists with the Wacoos and Tawacanies. When we arrived at Tenoxtitlan several northern Indians and two or three Wacoos were there. One of the latter was a chief. These Wacoos informed the Mexicans that in the late

affair on Caney they sustained a loss of seven men—which corresponded well with my own opinion. Father having dispatched his business with Capt. Ruiz, we were about to start home, when James Cooper of our party and brother of the young man killed in the recent attack on the Indians, to avenge the death of his brother, shot at one of the Wacoos and would probably have killed him had not his gun hung fire. The Indian escaped with the loss of a thumb. Cooper immediately secreted himself to avoid being arrested by the Mexicans. The rest of us, after a short delay, left the place, but Cooper did not rejoin us until the succeeding day. He skulked for several hours in the thickets about the post, seeking an opportunity to shoot at the Wacoos again; nor did he depart until he ascertained that they had been escorted away from the post by a file of soldiers.

STEPHEN F. AUSTIN,

Civil Commandant of the colony forming on the Colorado and Brazos rivers in the province of Texas.

Permission is hereby granted to Abner Kuykendall & family to emigrate and settle in the colony forming by me under the authority and protection of the Government of New Spain at the points above stated. Settlers are required to comply with the general regulations hereunto annexed:

STEPHEN F. AUSTIN.

GENERAL REGULATIONS RELATIVE TO THE COLONY.

1. No person will be admitted as a settler who does not produce satisfactory evidence of having supported the character of a moral, sober and industrious citizen.

2. Each settler must, when called on by the Governor of said Province take the oath of allegiance to the Government exercising the sovereignty of the country.

3. Six hundred and forty acres of land will be granted to the head of each family, and, in addition to that, three hundred and twenty acres to a man's wife, one hundred and sixty acres for each child and eighty acres for each slave; which land will be laid off in two equal tracts, one on the river in an oblong; the other is to be located so as not to interfere with the river lands. One of said

tracts must be actually inhabited and cultivated by the person and family who has permission to settle it, within the year from the first of January 1822.

Twelve cents and a half per acre must be paid me for said land, one half on receipt of title, the other half in one year after, which will be in full for surveying fees and all other charges—each settler will choose his own tracts of land within the limits designated by said Austin.

4. Mechanics and men of capital will receive additional privileges in proportion to their capacity to be useful.

5. Each settler is required to report himself to me or the officer who has charge of the colony, immediately on his arrival, and to furnish a list of the number of his family, giving the names of his children and their ages, the number of negroes, designating those under twelve years of age, those over twelve and under twenty one, those over twenty one, and whether male or female; and if any of the family are mechanics to state what kind. (Copied from the original printed document).

5. *Extracts from a biographical sketch of Capt. John Ingram.*

(A native of Kentucky).

Among the first immigrants to Austin's colony in Texas, was the old frontiersman and veteran Indian fighter, Thomas Williams, who with his family, left Arkansas Territory for the promised land in the autumn of 1821. The subject of this sketch, a poor orphan boy fourteen years of age obtained permission of his guardian to accompany Mr. Williams to Texas on condition that he would return to Arkansas the ensuing year. When Mr. Williams arrived at the Brazos river at the crossing of the San Antonio road it was crusted over with ice from shore to shore. This was about the 25th of December 1821.

In consequence of the inclemency of the weather, Williams determined to remain here until spring. Game was abundant and Williams and young Ingram were good hunters, hence there was never a scarcity of wild meat at their camp. Early in the spring of '22 they continued on to the Colorado and settled at a point about twenty-five miles below the present town of La Grange. A few

families from Arkansas had already settled on the Colorado. Here Williams, assisted by Ingram cleared a piece of land and planted corn. They raised about ten bushels to the acre— But before the corn had matured, to wit, in the month of June, young Ingram, mindful of his promise to his guardian, returned to Arkansas, hoping he would be able to induce the old man to move to Texas. He found him, however, entirely indisposed to emigrate, nor would he consent that his ward should return. But our young pioneer was not to be with held by a mere dictum— In the year 1823, William Rabb and James Gilleland—with whom Ingram was acquainted—emigrated from Arkansas to Austin's colony. Ingram secretly withdrew from the house of his guardian and joined these emigrants. In a few weeks he was again on the banks of the Colorado. . . .

In the winter of 1823-4, Ingram assisted the Rabbs to clear land in the Colorado bottom, on the west side of the river, eight or nine miles above the present town of La Grange. Near the close of the winter, the Indians (probably Wacoes) stole nearly all the horses belonging to the Rabbs. This they effected during a dark night by building a pen in the clearing into which they drove the horses and caught them. Shortly afterwards John Rabb moved to the Brazos near the infant town of San Felipe. The Indians continued troublesome and about the beginning of spring the rest of the Rabbs resolved to move to a place of greater security. Their wagons were loaded, cattle and hogs collected, and nearly every other preliminary accomplished for departure, when, at the distance of about four hundred yards in the prairie, they discovered about thirty mounted Indians in the act of stringing their bows. They rode briskly towards the house, the inmates of which made hasty preparations for defence. When the Indians got near the house they made signs of friendship. They said they were Wacoes. At this moment the hogs ran into the bottom and Ingram pursued and drove them back to the house. He was absent but a few minutes, but when he returned, the numbers of the Indians had increased to two hundred—all mounted warriors. The Rabbs had unloaded the wagon and shut themselves up in the house. The Indians crowded around Ingram and were clamorous for corn. Ingram told them he would get some for them. He rode close to the cabin and asked for a bag—Mrs Andrew Rabb thrust a sheet

through a crack and whispered [to] Ingram "bring some men." This was Ingram's sole purpose, but it was necessary so to act that the Indians should not suspect his design.

The nearest house was Thomas Williams's, about twelve miles farther down the Colorado on the west side. As soon as Ingram was out of sight of the Indians he urged his horse to a gallop. When he arrived at the Williams's and gave information of the perilous situation of the Rabbs¹, John H. Moore, James Gilleland and Jesse Robinson immediately armed and started back with Ingram to their relief. Night came on before they reached their destination, and perceiving a great light ahead they apprehended that Rabb's house had been set on fire—but they soon discovered that the light proceeded from the camp fires of the Indians which nearly encircled the house. The little party rode briskly up to the house, the Indians apparently alarmed giving way before them and offering no resistance. The principal chief, an old man, enquired if any more Americans were coming. He was told—a great many. This information had a visible effect upon the demeanor of the Indians. They remained quiet the rest of the night but did not sleep. The return of Ingram with three men probably saved the lives of the Rabbs. During Ingram's absence the Indians more than once essayed to set the house on fire, but as often as they made the attempt the men within cocked and presented their rifles and the Indians desisted. They also wounded some of the cattle by spearing them. They ceased to molest the kine. Early next morning the Indians marched down the river. Suspecting that their destination was Williams's, Moore, Gilleland and Robinson endeavored to get ahead of them by travelling a different route. But the Wacoos arrived first. Williams's house was inclosed with pickets, a portion of which the Indians tore down and went into the yard, but ere they could do further harm, Moore, Gilleland and Robinson returned. The Rabbs began to move a short time after the departure of the Indians. They forded the Colorado and went down on the east side of Cedar creek, where they camped.

The ensuing morning upon reaching a point nearly opposite Williams's and where the river was fordable, Ingram was requested to go to Williams's and ascertain whether the Indians had done any damage. Before he got within a mile of Williams's, Ingram heard

¹Wm. Rabb, his sons Andrew and Thomas, and his son-in-law, Newman.

the Indians whooping, yelling and singing, and just as he got within sight of the house, two Indians, one on either side of the path, presented themselves with strung bows in hand. Ingram deemed it prudent to retrace his steps. The Indians did not pursue him. He went to Duty's creek, where the Rabbs were camped, and reported what had occurred. The Rabbs expressed fears that the Williamses had been murdered. After some deliberation it was determined that another attempt should be made to get to Williams's the ensuing night. The service was assigned to Ingram and Thomas Rabb. A little after night they crossed the river and concealing their horses in a thicket proceeded through the bottom (about two miles) on foot. The moon had not yet risen and the darkness was intense. Ever and anon they could hear the war-whoop of the Indians "making night hideous." Approaching stealthily within a few paces of the house they perceived that the yard was crowded with Indians—whose numerous camp fires illuminated every object for some distance around. Notwithstanding the caution of our spies, the acute hearing of the Indians detected their approach. Simultaneously they hurled a hundred fire brands into the thicket to illuminate it and discover the lurkers who threw themselves on the ground and lay motionless until the fiery shower had ceased. Presently they heard a voice in the house which they recognized as that of James Gilleland. Encouraged by this circumstance they rose and walked boldly to the gate where they were met and admitted by old man Williams. They found twenty armed Americans in the house who had assembled from far and near to protect Mr. Williams's family. The Wacoes said they were in quest of the Tonkewas, with whom they were at war; but they were evidently very strongly disposed to make an onslaught on the settlers. The preceding day a party of them had charged on two settlers with every demonstration of hostility and their murderous intent was frustrated only by the resolute bearing of the men who stood by their horses with rifles presented, until the Indians withdrew.

The moon rose about midnight, and the Wacoes, who said they had not slept for three nights, now lay down in the yard and were soon under the dominion of Somnus. A large majority of the settlers present were in favor of attacking them while they were asleep, but James J. Ross, who was captain and two or three other

influential men, overruled the suggestion. Ingram's voice was for war. His plan was to use the knife silently and rapidly until the Indians should awake, and then to fire on them. Some time after the moon rose, Ingram and Rabb set out on their return to their camp on Duty's creek, and the next day the Wacoos went in quest of the Tonkewas, whom it was said they found and fought. The Wacoos were probably beaten as they immediately returned north to their hunting grounds.

The Rabbs and Ingram proceeded forty or fifty miles farther down the Colorado to the neighborhood now known as Egypt. Here they burned off a cane brake and planted corn.

The Wacoos and other northern tribes rarely if ever made incursions this far south, but a still more savage and warlike tribe, to wit, the Carancawas, ranged along the coast from the mouth of the Nueces to the mouth of the Trinity—but their favorite resort was along Matagorda Bay and up the Colorado as high as Eagle Lake. Fish and alligators were their principal food. They were also cannibals. In stature they were scarcely surpassed by the Patagonians, the average height of the men being fully six feet, and every warrior's bow when strung, was precisely as long as his person and as useless in the hands of a man of ordinary strength as was the bow of Ulysses in the hands of the suitors. The arrow formed of a cane, was about a yard long, including a piece of solid wood the size of the cane and two or three inches in length, neatly fitted into it at each end. The larger piece of wood received the arrow head which was fastened with sinews; the smaller piece had a notch or groove to receive the bow-string.

These Indians had no horses or other domestic animals, except dogs. They were expert swimmers and skillful canoe-men. The entire tribe was rarely embodied. Divided into small parties and wandering about the heads of the shallow bays, which they navigated with their canoes, and through the dense forests and tangled cane brakes of the Colorado bottom, they found a bountiful subsistence. They commenced hostilities against the whites almost as soon as they camped upon their hunting grounds.

It was in June or July of this year that a party of these Indians came within a few hundred yards of the residence of Capt. Robt. Kuykendall on Peach creek, a few miles below Eagle Lake, and killed one of his calves. His little son, ten years of age, was hunt-

ing the calf when he discovered several of the Indians in a thicket butchering it. As he turned his horse to retreat an Indian shot an arrow at him which narrowly missed him. Fearful that the Indians would attack his house (or rather his camp), Kuykendall dispatched his little son for aid and concealed his wife and smaller children in a thicket. Ingram was the first man that went to his assistance. He met Kuykendall a short distance from his camp anxiously looking for the expected aid. After Ingram joined him he proposed that they should go to his camp and await further reinforcement. Before they reached the camp they discovered an Indian in the bottom. Ingram would have shot him, but K., deeming it premature, forbade him. They retraced their steps a short distance and met a dozen of their neighbors. With this force it was resolved to attack the Indians. But it was soon ascertained that they had retreated. The settlers followed their trail which wound for several miles through a dense cane-brake. When the pursuers arrived at the Colorado river they espied the Indians on the opposite bank, where they had camped and spread out the meat of the calf to dry. As the Indians were beyond rifle range, the party resolved to ford the river in the face of the enemy. Spurring their horses to a gallop they plunged into the stream—agitating the water till it foamed and casting the spray far and wide. Meantime the Indians saluted them with a swarm of arrows, none of which took effect. When they reached the camp of the Indians they had all disappeared in the adjacent cane-brake. John Clark and Alexander Jackson immediately dismounted. As Jackson stooped to pick up a buffalo robe a “cloth yard” arrow was driven through his elbow. At this moment Clark saw the Indian who had shot Jackson, in the cane brake, with his bow raised to shoot again. Clark fired at him. The Indian fell and when found, a few minutes afterwards, was dead. The rifle ball had cut his left wrist in two and penetrated his breast. Firmly grasped in his right hand was a large butcher knife.

Deeming further search for the Indians useless the settlers returned home. On their return they found some of the arrows shot at them as they charged across the river. These formidable missiles, though impelled nearly two hundred yards, were driven to the feather in the alluvial bank.

Afterwards, but during this same year, a man of the name of

White, who resided at La Bahia, came into the mouth of the Colorado with a boat (yawl) laden with salt, to exchange with the settlers for corn. Here he was made prisoner by a party of Caranca-was, who, however, released him upon the condition that he would go up to the settlements and bring them down some corn. When White arrived at the nearest settlement and gave information of this occurrence, an express was sent up the Colorado for men to attack the Indians. At that time Ingram was near the locality of the present town of Columbus. He and several others from the same neighborhood responded to the call for aid and set out immediately for the mouth of the river—travelling day and night until they reached the landing which they did late in the night. There were about twenty-five men in all. Early the ensuing morning an old cabin which had once served as a warehouse was set on fire to make the appointed signal. The company was divided into two parties, one of which remained at the landing, and the other was posted in a thicket on the bank of the river several hundred yards farther down. In two or three hours a large pirogue containing twelve or fifteen Indians, was seen coming up the river. When the boat approached within pistol shot of the lower party, they delivered their fire. All the Indians who survived the first fire jumped out of the boat on the farther side and endeavored to swim off with it interposed between them and their assailants. But in holding to the side of the boat their hands were exposed and perforated with rifle balls—which compelled them to let go their hold and endeavor to escape by swimming to the opposite side of the river. Only two—one of whom was mortally wounded—succeeded in reaching the other shore. The captured boat was laden with fish and oysters which were very acceptable to the hungry victors.

Some time during the succeeding year (1825) the Tonkewas who were encamped in the neighborhood of what is now called Egypt, were accused by some of the settlers of stealing their hogs, and nine of them went to the camp of the Indians and demanded that the thieves should be designated and punished. The Tonkewas refused to comply with this demand of their white neighbors, but proposed to fight them. As the whole Tonkewa tribe was present the settlers declined the unequal combat and returned home. Ere long the Tonkewas left the neighborhood but returned again in the

autumn of the succeeding year (1826) and encamped. Ingram and Andrew Rabb had a farm in the bottom. One day, while they were absent, the Tonkewas went to their camp and, apparently with a design to provoke, cut their gun-rods in pieces. About the same time some of them went to the house of one [of] the neighbors (Mr. Dyer) who was absent and by rude deportment and menacing gestures so frightened Mrs. Dyer that she fled from her home. Immediately after these events Andrew Rabb and Ingram sent a request to the neighbors to convene the ensuing day for the purpose of seeking and chastising the Indians. At the appointed time and place nineteen men assembled and in the evening set out in quest of the Tonkewas whose trail was soon found but before it was followed far, night came on. The settlers camped and next morning followed the trail again. About noon the horses of the Tonkewas were found grazing in the open bottom. After passing the horses a short distance, the company met two Tonkewas, whom they arrested and required to guide them to the camp of the tribe—telling them that they wished to see and hold a “talk” with their captain or chief.

When the company got near the camp of the Indians the two prisoners attempted to escape by running. One of them was shot down before he had proceeded twenty paces. Several of the party then fired on the Indians at the camp. Altogether six guns were fired, killing four Indians and wounding three.

The Indians evacuated their camp and ran into a thicket a short distance therefrom. The company rushed into the camp where they found several guns, which they broke by striking them against trees. They then retired a few hundred yards and formed in the open bottom, where, as they expected the Tonkewas would pursue and attack them, they awaited them about an hour—at the expiration of which time they set out for home. But before leaving their position they heard at, or near, the locality of the Tonkewa camp, the reports of three guns—one of which was very loud—succeeded by a loud whoop—which was regarded at the time as a mere expression of defiance, nor was its tragical import suspected until the company had travelled four or five miles, when it was discovered that one of the party—a young man of the name of McMillan, was missing. None could tell when or where he had left the company. None, however, recollected having seen him after their departure from

the Tonkewa camp. He was armed with a musket which was known to have been very heavily charged, and all, at once concluded that the loud report they had heard was that of McMillan's piece. None doubted that he had been killed, but as it was now too late to return to seek him, the company camped at the edge of the prairie until next morning, when a party returned to the Tonkewa camp and found McMillan's lifeless body, scalped and shockingly mutilated. The Indians had disappeared. In the meantime Ingram hastened to San Felipe to inform Austin of these occurrences. When he received the news Austin was highly displeased. He believed that the settlers had been the aggressors. Not long afterwards the Tonkewas went to San Felipe and had a "talk" with Austin who, it is believed never greatly censured them for the part they acted in this unfortunate affair.¹

During this year Ingram was on the expedition against the Wacoos and Tawacanies, commanded by Capt. A. C. Buckner. . . . In the year 1829 Ingram was a member of the San Saba expedition under Capt. A. Kuykendall. . . . In the year 1830 Ingram was engaged in smuggling tobacco on the Rio Grande where he had diverse and "hair-breadth escapes" . . . Ingram was at the residence of Captain A. C. Buckner in June 1832, when that gentleman was solicited to join the colonists of the Brazos in the contemplated attack on the Mexican fort at Velasco. Ingram who disapproved of the movement said all he could do to dissuade his old friend from participating in it, and he parted with Buckner in the belief that he had succeeded. But immediately after Ingram's departure Buckner paid off his hired hands and made his will. Having thus "set his house in order" he went to Velasco and was killed. A Mexican youth whom he had partly reared, was killed in the same action.

Sometime during this year Ingram led a party of nineteen men in an attack on a large encampment of Carancawas on Live Oak creek, within the present limits of Matagorda county. The party fired on the Indians at the dawn of day, killing four or five and dispersing the remainder (1832). . . .

¹That the Tonkewas were thievish is unquestionable, but that the course pursued towards them by the settlers was rash and unjustifiable, is apparent. A feud arose between Capt. Robt. Kuykendall and the Rabbs in consequence of the strictures of the former on the conduct of the whites in this affair.

About the last of September 1835, Ingram joined the colonial force at Gonzales, and was in the skirmish with the Mexican troops near that place. He continued in the service until after the reduction of San Antonio, in which he fully participated. During the siege of this town he performed a feat of heroism which is worthy of record. After the investment of the place had continued some time, a twelve pounder cannon was received by the Texans, by means of which it was hoped some impression could be made on the Mexican stronghold—the Alamo.

Accordingly, the Texans, favored by a dark night, opened an intrenchment on the right side of the river, within four or five hundred yards of the Alamo, and at daylight the next morning, the twelve pounder, supported by Capt. Goheen's company (to which Ingram belonged) began to thunder. The Mexicans were not slow to reply; but in a short time the fire on both sides slackened in consequence of a dense fog which completely concealed every object beyond the distance of a few yards. After the fog dissolved the cannonade, on both sides, was renewed. At length the artillerymen of the twelve pounder announced that their powder was exhausted. It was immediately asked "who will go to the can for powder?" Without a moment's hesitation Ingram volunteered for the perilous service. The Texian camp was about a half mile from the battery. Ingram leaped out of the ditch and ran. Five field pieces were bearing on him from the walls of the Alamo and a thousand infantry were marshalled outside the walls within long musket range of the intrepid messenger. His course for four hundred yards was over an open field before he could gain the cover of the mill race which led to the camp. Simultaneously the five cannon hurled at him their iron missiles. At the next instant a thousand muskets poured a leaden shower around him—still Ingram sped onward. Again, and yet again, the five cannon thundered in dreadful concert. Again, and yet again, a thousand muskets roared in one platoon—but Ingram is still unscathed, and safe within the mill-race! Yet he paused not until he reached the quarter-master's tent, where, seizing a keg of powder and placing it on his shoulder, he left as he arrived—running. The same perils awaited him on his return. Three swarms of iron and three leaden balls again swept the plain around him—but he seemed to

bear a charmed life for he entered the entrenchment untouched amid the huzzas and congratulations of his fellow-soldiers! . . .

In the campaign of the spring of '36, Ingram was a private in Capt. Hill's company and did yeoman service in the Battle of San Jacinto. . . . In the year 1837, Ingram married and settled on the Colorado nine miles above La Grange. In 1847 he was elected a Capt. of militia and was commissioned by Governor J. Pinckney Henderson— . . .

Elijah Ingram, a younger brother of Captain Ingram and who came to Texas at a somewhat later period, was also a brave soldier, and in different conflicts with the Indians had three horses shot under him. In the year 1835, a man of the name of Hibbins, residing on the Guadalupe was killed by the Indians, and his wife and child were taken prisoners. Elijah was with the company that pursued the Indians who were overtaken and attacked. Elijah rushed into the midst of the Indians and rescued the woman and child, but was severely wounded by a musket ball, which entered his wrist, passed up his arm, and lodged in his shoulder. In 1838 or 1839 he was with a company of surveyors at the three forks of the Trinity, who were attacked by an overwhelming force of Indians. After losing several men the survivors mounted their horses to retreat. At this moment a wounded man implored Elijah to save him. He dismounted, placed the wounded man in his saddle, and leaped up behind him; but in the act, was himself shot and killed. The wounded man effected his escape on Ingram's horse.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

The *January Out West*, (Vol. XVIII, No. 1) contains the third and concluding installment of documents on Drake, in the series entitled *Early English Voyages to the Pacific Coast of America*. The February number contains, in the same series, an account of the voyage of Sir Thomas Cavendish, in 1587. It is a digest based upon, and interspersed with extracts from, original documents.

The American Historical Review for January (Vol. VIII, No. 2) has several interesting articles. James Harvey Robinson contributes *The Study of the Lutheran Revolt*, a review of the literature of the Reformation. Herbert Darling Foster writes on *Geneva Before Calvin (1387-1536)*. *The Antecedents of a Puritan State*. He outlines: 1. The development of Genevan political independence (1387-1536) and religious reform (1532-1536); 2. The resulting institutions and character before Calvin's arrival in August, 1536. One of his conclusions is that before Calvin's coming Geneva had developed neither democracy, religious liberty, nor personal liberty, and had not organized a new church. Her institutions were still plastic. The molding of them was left for Calvin. *The Constitution and Finance of the Royal African Company of England, from its Foundation till 1720*, by W. R. Scott, throws light upon the magnitude of early trading undertakings, upon the struggle against the exclusive privileges of the company in question, and upon seventeenth century methods of finance. Mr. L. D. Scisco's *The Plantation Type of Colony* is an interesting departure in the study of colonial institutions. Quite contrary to the traditional view, he sees in the earliest settlements in Virginia, New England, and New Netherland the same form of colonial institution—the "plantation type" of colony. This he defines as "an economic unity, based upon agriculture, under an exclusive local government which combine political jurisdiction with the powers of economic proprietorship." In *The State of Franklin*, George Henry Alden describes the most notable independent effort at State making west of the Alleghany Mountains

prior to the adoption of the constitution. The documents printed are *A Letter of William Bradford and Isaac Allerton, 1623*; and *Letters of Samuel Cooper to Thomas Pownall, 1769-1777*.

Vol. VI of the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society* contains a paper on the *Route of De Soto's Expedition from Taliepacana to Huasene* by Professor T. H. Lewis, in which he essays to mark out the line of Moscoso's trip. Professor Lewis locates Guachoya, where Moscoso started, near Arkansas City, in southeastern Arkansas, on the Mississippi River. The salt lake in the province of Aguacay is placed about two miles south of Arkadelphia, on the west side of the Ouachita. The route is made to cross Red River at White Oak Shoals, about three miles east of the Texas line. Thence it turns westward, and the province of Aays, which was reached about eighteen days after crossing Red River is located south of Gainesville, Texas. The difficulty offered by the fact that the Aays (Aes) were in eastern Texas in the early part of the eighteenth century is removed by assuming their migration. At Soacatino, some two days march further west, the route turns southwest, and Guasco, reached later, is identified as the "earliest home of the Wacoas." The Daycao River at which terminates the march of ten days west from Guasco is judged to be the Double Mountain fork of the Brazos. Thence the Spaniards return to the Mississippi the way they came.

The volume containing this paper is a book of over five hundred and fifty pages, which makes a most creditable showing for the Society. The credit due is reflected also on the State of Mississippi, which is giving the Society substantial support in its work. The example is one that Texas might well follow.

NOTES AND FRAGMENTS.

A CORRECTION.—In an article entitled *Landmarks Preserved by the Daughters of the Republic of Texas*, in the January QUARTERLY, the chapter of Daughters of the American Revolution at San Antonio is credited with having contributed twenty-five dollars for the preservation of the old Spanish mission San Jose. The Colonial Dames of America in the State of Texas were the first to respond to the appeal made by the Daughters of the Republic of Texas for aid in the preservation of these ancient buildings, and it was they instead of the Daughters of the American Revolution who made the contribution mentioned. It is encouraging that these organizations have all expressed a desire to assist in the preservation of the only landmarks in Texas coeval with the period of history whose memory these societies were organized to perpetuate. We hope for liberal assistance from them.

ADELE B. LOOSCAN,

Historian, Daughters of the Republic of Texas.

TEXAS DOCUMENTS IN THE CONGRESSIONAL LIBRARY.—Through the kindness of Mr. William Beer of the Howard Memorial Library, THE QUARTERLY is furnished with the following titles of documents relative to early Texas that have lately been secured, with his assistance, by the Library of Congress: *Carta del Virrey de Nueva España* (1712), *Carta de D. Juan Olivan dando cuenta de haberle nombrado el Virrey de Nueva España a pesquisar Texas y Luisiana* (1716), *Expedicion a los Tejas y providencia del Virrey de Nueva España* (1716-1718), *Noticias de la nacion Asinais o Tejas* (1688-1716), *Conclusion del Fiscal de Nueva España sobre conquista y reduccion de los Tejas* (1716), *Carta de los religiosos Hidalgo y Castillno al P. Mezquita desde la mision de Sn. Fransisco de los Tejas* (1716).

QUERIES AND ANSWERS.

Could any one inform me through THE QUARTERLY how Madison County, and the town of Madisonville came to be so named? Could any one give a sketch of some man of prominence connected with the early history of Madison County?

(MRS.) J. A. B. WALTHALL,
Willow Hole, Texas.

The above question was referred to Judge W. D. Wood of San Marcos, who answers as follows:

Madison County was organized by act of the Texas legislature, January 27, 1853. It was named in honor of President James Madison; and the county being so named, it was considered proper and appropriate to name the county seat Madisonville, to further accentuate the honor intended this illustrious man and president.

By act of the first legislature that assembled in Texas, after annexation, on the 6th of April, 1846, the counties of Grimes and Walker were organized out of the territory of Montgomery County. Not quite seven years after this, the new county of Madison¹ was organized out of the territory of Grimes and Walker Counties, and a small portion of Leon. The writer was at the sale of the town lots in Madisonville, in the summer of 1853. The public square or court house square, of the town, was located within two hundred yards of the residence of Job Collard, who had settled there in the forties, while the territory was a part of Montgomery County. He was a useful and exemplary citizen, a man of note in his section. He belonged to a numerous and much respected family, residents of old Montgomery County, who were active and leading spirits in matters civil and military. Judge Collard, recently deceased at Austin, a member of the civil court of appeals of the Third Dis-

¹The Congress of the Republic, on February 2, 1842, created the counties of Madison and Hamilton out of the territory of Montgomery County. Whatever became of these two counties I do not know. [Mr. Batts explains in his article on *Defunct Counties of Texas* that Madison was one of the "judicial" counties whose creation was provided for by an act that was held by the courts unconstitutional, because those counties were not given representation. See THE QUARTERLY, I 88.—EDITOR QUARTERLY].

trict, was a member of this family; and, if I mistake not, a native of old Montgomery County.

James Mitchell was another settler of the forties in the territory now included in Madison County. Mitchell lived northeast of where Madisonville now is, on the old San Antonio road, not far from Robbins's Ferry on the Trinity. His house was at the parting of the ways. Here the La Bahía road diverged from the San Antonio road. The traveler or immigrant bound for Bastrop, San Antonio, and intermediate points, followed the San Antonio road; if he was bound for La Bahía, Gonzales, or Goliad, he followed, as the American settler called it, the "Labadee" road. Mr. Mitchell, located as he was, kept a hostelry which was known far and wide for the hospitality, genial disposition, and kindness of the landlord. Few men, at an early day in Texas, were better known than "Uncle Jimmy Mitchell," and none did more towards the settlement and development of the territory now included in the bounds of Madison County than he.¹

Besides Collard and Mitchell there were George Floyd, Nathaniel Robbins, Stephen and Joseph Rogers, John and Doctor McKeever, the Mannings, the Batsons, Dr. Kittrell, father of Judge Norman G. Kittrell of Houston, the Gorees, Youngs, McGarys, and Pat Hays, all of whom settled in the territory of Madison County before it was organized, many of them sometime in the forties. They were all enterprising citizens, and took an active part in the organization of the new county. They did so on account of the great distance at which those citizens who lived in the northern

¹Since the above was written I have found that in the act of the Congress of the Republic creating the County of Montgomery, approved Dec. 14, 1837, James Mitchell and Elijah Collard are appointed members of a commission to locate the county seat of the new county. So it seems that in 1837 Mitchell was a resident of the territory of Montgomery county, and I apprehend that he was located at the forks of the San Antonio and La Bahía Roads; for on my first visit to his home his residence and improvements, indicated quite an old settlement. This was in December, 1857. Mitchell was one of the pioneer settlers on the Old San Antonio Road, between the Trinity and Navasota Rivers. He has a number of descendants now residents of Madison County.

Elijah Collard, the commissioner, was a brother of Job Collard. There was no family in the territory of Old Montgomery County more prominent than the Collards.

portions of Walker and Grimes Counties were from the county seats of these counties, a distance of forty or fifty miles or more. This was a great inconvenience, and the legislature hearkened to their petition for relief and gave them Madison County.

Dr. Kittrell and the Gorees were from Alabama. In the legislature of 1857-58, Dr. Kittrell was floater from the counties of Madison, Grimes and Walker. The elder Goree was the father of Hon. Thomas Goree, now of Galveston. As to the States the other persons mentioned came from, the writer does not now remember, if he ever knew.

W. D. Wood.

AFFAIRS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

The Association has received from General Felix H. Robertson of Waco, a most valuable gift for its collection, in the shape of a bound copy of the first volume of *The Texas State Gazette*, which was published in the city of Austin. The initial number is for August 25, 1849, and the volume covers the ensuing year. When one recalls what was happening that year in Washington, he will easily see the importance of a record of contemporaneous events and opinions in Texas. The hearty thanks of the Association are hereby returned General Robertson for his contribution.

Mrs. Mary Jane Briscoe

Honorary Life Member

Texas State Historical Association, 1897-1903.

First Vice President

Daughters of the Republic of Texas, 1891-1903.

Member Texas Veterans' Association.

First President

Sheltering Arms, Woman's Home, Houston.

Born, August 17, 1819, at St. Genevieve, Missouri.

Died, March 8, 1903, at Houston, Texas.

INDEX TO VOLUME VI.

Acapulco	136	
Adams, J. Q.	96	
Aguayo, Marquis de.	86	
Alamán, Lucas	266, 267	
Alamo Monument, The.	300-310	
Allen, Capt. John M.	181	
Almonte, Juan N.	41, 50, 98	
Altamira, Marqués de.	86	
American Historical Association.	65	
<i>American Historical Review, The</i>	65, 159, 254, 331	
Anahuac, 270, 272, 276, 277, 279, 284, 285, 286, 293, 295, 297; <i>Disturbances at, in 1832</i>	265-399	
Apaches	198	
Aransas River	99	
Archivo General de Mexico, 187; <i>Some Materials for Southwestern History in the</i>	103-112	
Arcos Islands	123, 124, 126	
Arocha, Juan	206, 208	
Arthur, Mrs. Dora Fowler.	75	
Asinaiis.	6, 8, 11, 12	
Aspinwall	136	
Aury, Louis de.	146, 147	
Austin, the sloop	124	
Austin, John	282, 283, 284, 285, 289, 290, 291	
Austin, Stephen F.	149-150, 154, 172, 173, 182, 239, 240, 252, 268, 269, 271, 277, 298, 312, 314, 318.	319
Austin's Colony	116	
Ayer, Edward E.	65	
Ayish Bayou	292, 293	
Baker, Moseley	140	
Balmaceda, José Maria.	61	
Bankhead, ———	139	
Banks, General.	223, 224, 225, 226, 227	
Barker, Eugene C.	75, 76, 145, 169	
Barrera, Francisco	29	
Barrientos	256	
Bastrop, Baron de.	248	
Bean, Ellis P.	166	
Bean, Dr. Jesse.	166	
Beer, William	67, 333	
Bejar	63	
Berrotaran, diary of	111	

Index.

Bexar, department of	97
Bexar, San Fernando de, 38, 40; <i>Educational Efforts in</i>	27-63
Bexar Archives, The.....	258
Belden, ———	212
Belden's Ranch	208
Beramendi, Juan Martin de.....	61, 62
Bernardino	12
Bienville, M.	5
Biloxi, Fort	5, 6, 10
Bisland, battle of	224
Bolton, Herbert E.....	70, 76, 103, 187
Bonilla, Antonio	92, 107
Bonnie Carrie, battle of	219-221
Boone, Major	217, 225
Borrego, Dn. Joseph Vasquez.....	90, 91, 92, 189, 194
<i>Boundary of Texas, The Southwest</i>	81-102
Bourne, E. G.....	66
Bowie, James	148, 149
Bradburn, Col. Davis.....	269, 270, 271, 272, 275, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 284, 285, 286, 287, 293, 294, 295, 296.....
Brashier, capture of fort at.....	227
Brazoria	275, 279, 286
Brazoria, the schooner	289, 292
Breedlove, James Wm.....	268
Brooks, S. P.....	75
Brown, Capt. Henry.....	317
Brunson [Brinson], Enoch	116-117, 129
Bryan, Guy M.....	74, 75
Bucareli	104, 105
Buchetti, Juan Francisco.....	47
Buckner, Capt. A. C.....	249, 250, 251, 328
Bugbee, Lester G.....	74, 75
Burleson, Colonel	242
Burleson, Rufus C.....	74, 75
Burnet, David G.....	154
Burnham, Jesse	239
Bnstamante, General Anastasio.....	63
Bustillos, Domingo	46
Butler, Anthony	96
Butte Station	218
Byrd, ———	238
 Cadillac, Lamothe.....	 7, 8, 9, 10, 24, 26
California	131
Camara Alta, Agustín Lopez de la.....	202
Camargo	200
Canon, the schooner	273

Index.

Carancawas.....	240, 241, 247, 250, 253
Carbajal, José María	271
Carita	252
Casas, Juan Bautista.....	30
Chambers, T. J.....	269
<i>Charles Porterfield, Journal of</i>	64
Chere's House	293
Chilton, G. W.....	158
<i>Chriesman, Capt. Horatio, Recollections of</i>	236-241
<i>Christmas in Old Mexico</i>	64
Christy, William.....	170, 171, 174
Clark, J. C.	247-248
Clark, John	325
Clark, Robert Carlton.....	1
Clopper, General	117
Coahuila.....	86, 87, 88, 89, 95, 97, 98, 99
Coahuila and Texas, state of	40, 265, 268, 271
Collard, John	334
Comanches	249
Concepcion, mission of.....	23
Convention of 1833.....	151
Cooper, William	318
<i>Correo Atlantico, El</i>	177
Cortina, Juan	284, 297
Cos, General	143
<i>Cox, C. C., Reminiscences of</i>	113-138, 204-235
Cox, I. J.....	27, 76, 81
Cox, Joseph.....	300, 303, 304, 305
Cox, Mrs. Nellie Stedman.....	76
Crescent Place	127
Croix, Caballero de.....	94, 107
Crozat, Antoine.....	6, 7, 8, 24, 26
Daughters of the Republic of Texas.....	74, 258
<i>Declaracion of Saint-Denis</i>	15
De la Mata, Don José Francisco.....	28
Diana, the gunboat, capture of	222
Dibrell, Mrs. J. B.....	75, 76
Dobie, ———.....	211, 216, 217, 230, 233
<i>Documentos para la Historia de Texas</i>	104
Dolores, mission of	14, 23
Dolores, town of	90, 104, 109, 187, 189
<i>Duke, Thomas M., Recollections of</i>	247-253
Duvernoy, G.	168
Edwards, Monroe	152, 153
Elguezabal, Juan Bautista.....	29, 31

Index.

Elkins, —————	132, 133
Eacandon, Jose de.....	84, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 187, 189, 194, 195, 196, 203
Espada, Mission	42
Espinosa, Fray.....	15, 21, 24
Fannin, J. W.....	152
Farias, Valentin Gomez	169, 170
Fernandez, Santiago	108
Filisola	298
Fisher, George.....	170, 171, 172, 184, 186, 270, 272, 273, 274, 275, 298
Fisher, William S.....	153
Fitch, John	217
Flores, Antonio	107
Flores, Gaspar	274
Flores, Manuel	62
Forsyth, Secretary	156
Fragoso, Francisco Xavier.....	108
Francisco, the mexican	116
Frontera	124
Furman, Kate	65
Galveston.....	119, 124, 138, 275
Galvez, Conde de.....	110
Galvez, José de.....	107
Gama y Fonseca, José Antonio.....	146
Garcia, Genaro	255, 256
Garrison, George P.....	66, 74, 75, 76
Garza, José Maria de la.....	162
Garza, Refugio de la.....	61
George, Maj. J. W.....	216, 234
George, Miss Fanny.....	210
Gibbons, —————	120
Gilleland, James	321, 323
Goegg, Amand	67
Gomez, Gregorio	175, 176
Gonzales, Rafael	41
Gotier, —————	247
Green, Gen. Tom.....	71, 224, 227
Grimes, Rufus	308
Gaudalupe, mission of	23
Gaudalupe, the	71
Guasco	332
Guerrero, President	150
Guerro, José Mariano.....	285
Guia del Pueblo.....	273
Gulf States Historical Magazine, The.....	159, 254
Gwyn, Senator	137

Index.

Halcyon, the	176
Hall, Edward	72
Hamilton, Peter J.	159
Hannah, Captain	129
Hardin, William	295
Harris, Clinton	130
Harris, L. B.	131
Harrisburg	131, 140
Haskins, Chas. H.	65
Hazlitt, ———	312, 313, 317
Hendrick, Judge S. J.	259
Herrera, Manuel	145
Hibbins, ———	330
Hidalgo, Fray	3, 4, 8, 9, 12, 14, 16, 21, 23
Houston, David F.	75
Houston, Gen. Sam.	119, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 155, 158
Huizar, Bruno	43, 46, 47, 48, 49
Humphries, ———	115
Hunt, Gen. Memucan	156
Iberville, M. Lemoyne d'	5
Iglehart, Fanny Chambers Gooch	64
Iguala, plan of	35
Imes [Iiams], Jno.	117
Indianola	157
Ingram, Capt. John, 239; <i>Extracts from a Biographical Sketch of</i>	320
Ingram, Elijah	330
Ireland, General	204
Jack, Patrick C.	279, 280, 282
Jack, William H.	281, 282
Jackson, Alexander	325
Jackson, President	96
Jalot	13, 14, 21
January, Doctor	221
Johnson, Francis W.	282, 308
Johnson, Hugh B.	285, 294
Johnson, Sol	204
Jones, Randall	250
Junta de Guerra, of August 22, 1715	15
Keechies	242
Kennedy, Samuel	237
Kincheloe, William	237
Knott, Benedict	114
Kosciusko, the	72

Index.

Kriehn, George	65, 66
Kuykendall, Capt. Abner	314
<i>Kuykendall, Barsillai, Recollections of</i>	311-320
Kuykendall, J. H.	236, 311
Kuykendall, Robert	248, 250, 324
Labadie [La Bahia]	163-164
Labadie, Dr. N. D.	280, 281
Lafitte, Jean	146, 147, 252
Lagarto	234, 235
Lama, The	181
Lamar, Gen. Mirabeau B.	119
Lamb, George	139
Lampasas	74
Lancastrian Schools	36, 38, 39
Lansing, James	135
Laredo . . . 91, 92, 98, 104, 109, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 195, 199, 200	
Lathrop, Captain	123
Lewis, T. H.	332
Lexington, Ky.	113
Liberty	271, 272, 283, 295
Linares, Duque de	19, 23
Lively, the	247
Logan, William M.	280, 281
Looscan, Adele B	71, 139, 262
Los Angeles	131
Lubbock, Ex-Governor	74, 75, 157
Lynch's Ferry	141
Madero, Francisco	271, 272
Madison County	334
Madisonville	334
Magruder, General	227, 228
Mann, Mrs.	140
Mansfield, battle of	228
Manzanet, Father	2, 18, 23
Margil, Fray Antonio	24
Maria, Doña	20
Martin, Wily	285
Mary Jane, the	174
Matamoras	172, 173
McCampbell John S.	228
McKinney, Thomas F.	172, 184, 185
McMillan, ———	327, 328
McNeil, Sterling	153
Medina River	83, 85, 86, 87, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 98, 99
<i>Memorias de Nueva España, Coleccion de</i>	103

Index.

Menendez	256
Merino, Manuel	108
Merriman, Mrs.	210
Mexía, José Antonio	170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185
Mier	200
Mier Expedition	109
Mier y Terán	269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 275, 278, 282
Miles, ———	243, 244
Miller, T. S.	75
Miracle, Capt. Julian	179
Mitchell, ———	212
Mitchell, James	335
Montezuma, the	71
Moore, Commodore	71, 126
Moore, Frederick W.	66
Morfi, Father	93
Morgan, Col. James	117, 128
Morgan, "Kas"	129
Morgan, Mrs., death of	232
Morgan's Point	117
Mt. Vernon	116
Muldoon, Father	289
Musquiz, Ramón	62, 279, 283, 285
Natchitoches Indians	6
Nangle, ———	300, 306, 307, 309, 310
Navarro, Angel	48
Navarro, José Antonio	168
Neighbors, Major	118
New Mexico	268
New Mexico, Historical Society of	64
New Orleans	123
New Orleans, meeting of Texas sympathizers in	170
New Washington	117
New York	137
Nixon, George, his clerk	49
Nueces River	83, 88, 90, 93, 94, 95, 96, 98, 99
Nueva Estremadura	84, 86, 87
Nueva Viscaya	8, 84, 85, 87, 88
Nuevo Leon	81, 88, 89, 91, 93, 97
Nuevo Mexico	83, 84, 87, 109, 111
Nuevo Santander	82, 83, 87, 88, 89, 93, 94, 95, 98, 109, 187
Obregon, Señor Dn. Luis Gonzalez	191
Old Presidio Road	21, 26
Olivares	16

O—Q

Index.

Ordinance for free schools of Bexar	52
<i>Out West</i>	64, 159, 254, 331
Owen, Thomas M.	159
Pacho, Juan Maria	276, 277, 281, 282, 284
Panama	136
Parker, Joshua	251
<i>Patriotic Junta</i>	41, 42
Patterson, Commodore	147
Pease, Ex-Governor E. M.	308
Pendleton, Geo. C.	73, 166
Penicaut	10, 13, 14
Pennybacker, Mrs.	69
Perez, Doña Gertrudis	43, 49
Pettus, William.	180, 181, 182
Philadelphia	138
Piedras, Col. José de las ...	271, 278, 279, 283, 285, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296
Poinsett, Joel	96, 265
Potomac, the steamship	136, 137
Potter, Capt. R. M.	157, 305, 308
Power, James	181, 184
Prince, L. Bradford.	64
Proctor, D. C.	225, 226
<i>Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society</i>	332
Rabb, Andrew	327
Rabb, Thomas	323
Rabb, William	321
Raines, Judge C. W.	75, 76, 160, 300
Ramage, James.	170, 171, 174
<i>Ramirez, Don José Fernando</i>	65
Ramirez, Patricio	206
Ramon, Capt. Diego.	13, 21, 22
Ramon, Domingo.	19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26
Reagan, Hon. John H.	64, 75, 157, 160, 167
Reese, Captain	71
<i>Reminiscences of C. C. Cow</i>	113-138, 204-235
<i>Reminiscences of Early Texans</i>	236-253, 311-330
Revilla	191, 200
Reynosa	200
Rhodes, James Ford	66
Rio Bravo	83
Rio del Norte.	83
Rio Grande.	82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 89, 95, 101, 102
Rio Turbio	83
Ripperdá, Governor	95
Rivas, Diego Rodriguez de.	69

Index.

Roberts, Ingham S.....	168
Roberts Papers, the.....	258
Robertson, Gen. Felix H.....	337
Robertson, Sterling C.....	242
Robinson, Lieutenant Governor James W.....	168, 183
Robison, Joel W., 143; <i>Recollections of</i>	241-247
Robison, John G.....	241
Rajo, Francisco.....	46
Rose, ————.....	68
Rowe, Edna.....	265
Ruiz José Francisco.....	29, 285, 286
Russell, W. J.....	288, 290
Sabine, the schooner.....	277
Sacramento.....	133, 134
Saint-Denis, Louis Juchereau de.....	3, 5, 6, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 19, 20, 21, 22.....
Salinas, José M.....	25
Salley, A. S., Jr.....	274
Samuels, ————.....	64
San Antonio, suit by school board of.....	114
San Antonio de Bexar, presidio of.....	40
San Antonio, the schooner.....	85
San Bernard, the schooner.....	14
San Fernando.....	120
Sanchez, Dn. Tomas.....	90, 188, 189, 190, 192, 193
San Fernando.....	30, 31, 32, 35, 37, 41, 50, 52
San Francisco, mission of.....	3, 23
San Jacinto, the schooner.....	120
<i>San Jacinto, An Account of the Battle of</i>	139-144
San Jacinto Day.....	74
San Joseph, mission of.....	23
San Juan Bautista, mission of.....	4
San Juan Capistrano, mission of.....	42
San Miguel, mission of.....	23
Santa Anna, Antonio Lopez de, 100, 141, 143, 168, 170, 171, capture of.....	243
Santa Cruz.....	131
Santa Fé Expedition.....	100
Santiago, Fernando de.....	51
Santissima Nombre de Maria, mission of.....	3
Saucedo, José Antonio.....	31, 40, 54
Sayer's Battery.....	224
Sayers, Capt. Joe.....	222
Schabelitz, ————.....	67
Schmitt, Edmond J. P.....	69
Segars, Lieutenant.....	25
Seguin, José Erasmo.....	31, 52, 274
Seguin, Juan Angl.....	62

Index.

Seguin, town of.....	204, 205, 210, 231
Serra, Junipero	64
Shenandoah, the schooner	153
Sherman, Dana	115, 118
Sherman, Mrs., death of.....	232
Sherman, Sidney.....	114, 119, 129, 138, 141
Sinks, Mrs. Julia Lee.....	75
Sinnickson, Doctor	71
<i>Slave Trade in Texas, The African</i>	145-158
Smith, Deaf	142
Smith, Governor	153, 179, 183
Smith, Theodore C.....	66
Smith, W. Roy.....	69, 76
<i>Southern History Association, Publications of</i>	64, 159, 254
<i>Southern Political Views</i>	64
Spillman, Captain	129
Spillman's Island	129
Stedman, Major	234, 235
Stedman, Mrs. Nellie.....	234
Steele, Adjutant General William.....	308
Stevens, —————	246
Stewart, Chas.	204
<i>St. Louis Enquirer</i>	162, 163
Stockton	131, 133
Subaran, Colonel.....	284, 287, 296, 297
Sullivan, Chris	215
Swearingen, —————	132, 133
Sylvester, —————	143, 243
Talamantes, Melchor de.....	106
Tamaulipas.....	82, 87, 98, 99
Tampico.....	171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 179
<i>Tampico Expedition, The</i>	169-186
Tawacanias	248, 249
Tejas Indians	8, 11, 16, 17, 18, 22
<i>Tejas Missions, Re-establishment of</i>	1-26
Tejas, Province of.....	199
Tennison, Lieutenant	125
Teran, Fort	292, 293
Texas.....	37, 39, 97, 124, 131, 171
Texas Documents in the Congressional Library.....	333
<i>Texas Republican</i>	162
<i>Texas, Southwest Boundary of</i>	81-102
Texas State Historical Association.....	258
Texas Veterans' Association, papers of the.....	258
Thomas, D. Y.....	64
Thompson, —————	243

Index.

Thomas, Alcalde	297
Thwaites, Reuben Gold	66
Tienda de Cuervo, Capt. Joseph	192, 193, 199, 201
<i>Tienda de Cuervo's Inspection of Laredo</i>	187-203
Tobasco, city of	124
Tobasco River	123
Tonicas	10
Tonkawas	252
Tornel, José M.	268
Townes, John C.	75
Travieso, Don Bicente	30, 31, 33, 50
Travis, William B.	68, 279, 280, 281
Treviño, Capt. Alejandro	42
Treviño Juan Eusebio	194, 195, 196, 197, 198
Tucker, Phil C.	161
Turner, Tom	128
Turtle Bayou	285, 287
Turtle Bayou Resolutions	287-288
Ugartechea, Col. Domingo	277, 279, 282, 284, 286, 289, 290, 291
Unzaga y Amezaga, Luis de	107
Urbantke, C.	256
Urrutia, Captain	2-3, 12
Vargas	109, 110, 111
Varner, Martin	237
Velasco	275, 276, 289
Velasco, Fort, surrender of	291
Vera Cruz	9
Vermilion, ———	246
Veterans	74
Vial, Pedro	108
Viesca, Ex-Governor	179, 183, 184
Villa Señor, Ygnacio	34
Vince's Bayou	243
Visita, La General, of Laredo	191
Wacos	248, 249
Waller, Edwin	276, 288
Waller, Colonel	217, 220, 221, 222
Walthall, Mrs. J. A. B.	334
Weeks, Stephen B.	65
Wharton, General	143
Wharton, William H.	154, 155, 276
Wharton, the brig	120
Whiteside, James	238
Williams, John A.	284

Index.

Williams, Thomas	320
Williamson, Robert M.....	283
Winkler, E. W.....	257
Winters, J. W.....	139, 259, 260
Wood, Judge W. D.....	334, 336
Wood's Creek	131, 132
Woods, Norman	313
Woodward, Dudley.....	214, 215, 217
Wright, Lem	215
Yactaches	5
Ybarbo, Antonio Gil.....	108
<i>Year-Book for Texas</i>	160
Ymbalido, José Mares Cabo.....	108
Yucatan	123, 124
Zambrano, Juan Manuel.....	30
Zavala, the ship.....	123, 124, 126
Zepeda, Victoriano	46, 62
Zuber, W. P.....	69, 151, 308

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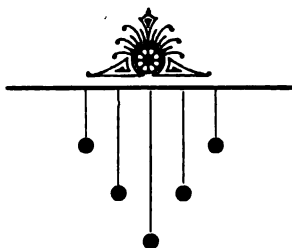
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